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THE IMPACT OF THE MENNONITE MISSION ON MARA REGION, TANZANIA - 1934 - 1967

by

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This Paper is dedicated to my late father, Pastor Ezekiel Kaneja Muganda who introduced me to the Mennonite Mission.

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PREFACE

An African proverb says: "He who praises the rain, it must have rained upon him". It is with this spirit I have undertaken a study of the Impact of the Mennonite Mission on the Mara Region where I was born and spent my early years in Tanganyika now known as Tanzania. As a member of that religious movement from its inception there in 1934, when I was less than nine years of age, I feel especially equipped to present a critical report and analysis of its work; noting that many individual men and women, including myself, have benefitted greatly from the small beginnings of these U.S. Mission workers, who elected to pursue a religious vocation in our country.

My initial exposure to the Mennonite movement for the spititual salvation of my fellow Africans was on an afternoon, at Bugunda Village, in Majita Chiefdom of the Musoma District. That day in the year of 1940, I heard a drum beat and witnessed a gathering crowd of old and young, men and women under a big tree eagerly awaiting a report on the occasion of their summoning. In traditional African culture, the drum-beat has significant meaning to the villagers: either there is impending harm or some tragedy of interest to the village or an announcement of a much desired advantage or a blessed event in store for them.

Accordingly, the headman called the attention of the villagers to inform them that a school was about to be opened in their vicinity. The people responded immediately and listened attentively to the details. The occasion was ideal for the headman to introduce a rather well-dressed young man wearing a clean shirt and a pair of shorts. His name was Paul Musyangi from Nyamulibwa, Majita. Although he reported that he had come to organize a church in the village, he added that along with that he would teach people "how to read, write and do arithmetic". Thus, he invited all interested persons to enroll the following week in his school to be located under the same big tree.

People were so overjoyed to learn that there would be a school in their vicinity. The following week many young people and small boys presented themselves to the teacher. The smiling teacher, equally as enthusiastic, presented his equipment which consisted first of a slab of wood, painted black which he called "ubao" - a blackboard. With the blackboard or ubao, he explained with some short white sticks called "chalk" with which he would be writing on the blackboard. The third essential to his simple instruction in "reading, writing and arithmetic" was a much longer stick which he used to point out every vowel or syllable sounding them out as he proceeded.

His explanations were followed by instructions to his class to read after him, repeating whatever he said.

Significantly, if one did not fully understand or was not attentive, he considered himself "reading" provided he shouted the words after the teacher. The arithmetic period was devoted to the teacher's writing Arabic numbers of one to ten after counting first; following which the class was instructed to count after him.

Such were the conditions which inspired me personally to remain in school and pursue a career in education. By 1941, when I was nine or ten years of age I was already developing into a responsible young man. As early as the age of seven or eight I could be trusted with looking after the goats and by nine or ten to herd the cattle. At a very early age I was included on fishing trips with my uncles along Lake Victoria where we lived.

Practical education in fishing and herding, with a great sense of responsibility for a lad my age, naturally spurred me to pursue further personal development such as held out by the school which opened in my vicinity. Moreover, I was attracted to enrollment because most of my peer group was going to school. Noting my interest in education and developing a sense of responsibility, my grandparents willingly consented to my enrolling. My grandmother gave me a "khanga" which I wore around my neck half covering my entire body. I listened attentively to the teacher's instruction, shouting after him in reading classes, as other pupils did. Occasionally he would call upon individual students one after the other to stand up and read aloud what the teacher had written on the blackboard.

After several weeks of going to school, the teacher asked me to stand up and read from the blackboard and I was able to read all the words he had written. I returned home very proud of my demonstrated achievement especially since there were only a few other pupils who could exhibit such attainment. Unfortunately, shortly thereafter, I was forced to drop out, because my grandparents wanted me to look after the animals.

Soon I learned there was to be a "mkutano",* which was a Bible conference. The teacher added that a "mzungu"** (a missionary) from Mugango Mission station would attend and preach. Moreover, he reported that Ezekiel Kaneja, who was my father, would come along from Butata to attend the conference. My grandparents permitted me to attend where I met my father. When I arrived, the meeting had already begun. The mzungu was preaching and Ezekiel Kaneja, my father, was translating into Chijita, the vernacular language. The mzungu was speaking Swahili, but since I had never heard a conversation in Swahili, I thought that the mzungu was preaching in English. When I returned home and reported to my grandparents that my father was very fluent in translating from

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*"mkutano" - Swahili language - gathering, Bible conference.

**"mzungu" Swahili - a European, a white man, in this regard, a missionary.

the "mzungu" language into Chijita, they laughed at me and remarked that the mzungu was speaking Swahili.

That night, when I retired, I was deeply frustrated and finally decided to pursue formal education without any interruptions. I was mindful of the fact that by living with my grandparents, it would be difficult if not impossible to accomplish anything, for there would always be animals to look after. On the other hand, I considered living with my father would accelerate my reading (education), for he himself was a teacher and, moreover did not have animals to interrupt my school attendance. Further, I was convinced that I was of an age I could more productively live with my father. Thus, I decided that my father could not leave me behind.

The following morning I went to church to listen to the missionary preach while my father was translating into Chijita. After the service, my father came to bid me goodbye. When I reported to him I wished to attend school regularly, he consented and I went with him from Bugunda to Butata where he was a Bush School teacher. At Butata there were many more pupils who were much more advanced in their classes than were those at Bugunda from whence I came. On Sundays there were church services at Butata as there were at Bugunda. At Butata one saw many missionaries who were visiting or in attendance at Bible conferences.

Soon after I joined my father at Butata, a missionary from Mugango, W. Ray Wenger, came to move us from there to Mugango

Mission Station. We put all our belongings in a mission pick-up car and drove with him to Mugango where we were being moved. It was the first time I had ridden in a car. At Mugango I met many people from different places and tribes. There were Jita, Luo, Ruli, Kiroba, Kurya, Zanaki, Sukuma and many others, who came to the mission station for different reasons.

Some came to the mission station in order to work, but since there was a school, some attended classes to obtain knowledge and better themselves. These Africans worked in the mornings from 6 to 11:30 a.m. In the afternoon from 1 to 4:30 they went to school.

The beginning classes were taught by Africans and the advanced classes were taught by missionaries. Since my father was somewhat advanced, he taught third and fourth grade along with the missionaries. The language used in the school was Swahili, which was also the language for communication among the different African tribes. Soon I learned the rudiments of Swahili sufficiently well to study in Swahili and, therefore, mastered it within a few months. When I heard some Africans speaking English as well, I became eager to grasp it that I might also speak English.

Mugango was bigger than either Bugunda or Butata. There were two Missionary houses, a big church, a Girl's Home with a dozen small but neat houses that accommodated the African population. I was soon to learn that Bugunda and Butata were only Bush Schools and that under the Mugango Station there were many bush schools in

Majita and Mugango as well. Moreover, I learned that Mugango was only one of the five mission stations under the organization of Mennonite Mission. I was informed that other stations were Shirati, which was the first, Bukiroba the second, and that Mugango was third in the line of founding. Besides these, I know that there were Bumangi and Nyarero, and later Nyiboko was built.

From time to time my father went away from home to attend church councils, meetings, conferences, or General Church Councils. At other times I saw the Mennonite Missionaries gathering at Mugango to have their Bible conferences and business meetings or on general church matters. From time to time, Missionaries and the African Church leaders would meet at Mugango to have Bible conferences or on general church matters pertaining to African Church workers, African culture, or African education. There were times when the two cultures confronted each other to the extent of causing tensions between the two races.

On occasions, the feelings between the Africans and missionaries were so tense that meetings would be shortened, the missionaries charging that the devil had been allowed to control the minds and feelings of the Africans. Whereupon such meetings would be shortened, for it was considered that each group should seek the face and will of the Lord. However, it occurs to me now that this was a mere strategy of the missionaries to close the meeting so that they could plan a tactic of defeat for the Africans. In the mean-

time the missionaries left such meetings saddened and grieved, while the Africans departed disappointed and angry.

This paper traces the beginning of the Mennonite Mission in Mara Region, Tanzania, from its inception to its becoming the Tanganyika Mennonite Church. Since I am an African member of this Church, I have undertaken a description of the Mennonite Mission history from an African viewpoint. Thus, I have concentrated on the crucial role played by African churchmen which contributed much toward the growth and expansion of the church until it got its first African bishop in 1967.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	3
Methodology	4
The Content of Study	5

CHAPTER

I. The Tanzania General Survey of the Social Conditions That Prevailed before the Coming of the Mennonite Mission in Mara Region

1. Introduction	7
2. The Composition of the African Tribes	9
3. Social Conditions	12
4. Tanzania Contacts With The Eastern World	15
5. Contact with the European World	17
6. Summary of Events	29

II. 1934 - 1940 - Missionary Zeal to Lead and African Willingness to be Followers

1. Historical Background: The Swiss Brethren Movement	32
2. The Mennonites in America Reawakened for Missionary work	35
3. Missionary Zeal to Lead and African Willingness to Follow	41
4. Cultural Shocks	56

III. 1940 - 1950 - The Awakening of Africans and Historical Forces That Helped them to Change and Modernize

1. A Desire to change 65

2. "Behold We Have Forsaken All and Followed Thee; What then shall we have therefore?" 72

3. Activities of Other Missions in East Africa and Revival Movements 83

4. Historical Forces That Shaped the Mennonite Mission 95

IV. 1950 - 1960 - The Mission is Institutionalzied

1. The Ordination of African Clergymen, Church Structure and Steps Toward Integration 110

2. Expansion of Educational Programs 132

3. Nationalism Accelerated Africanization of the Church 138

a) Economic Nationalism 138
b) Political Nationalism 141

V. 1960 - 1967 - The Mennonite Mission Becomes an Indigenous Church

1. The Mission is Africanized 147

2. The Relationship with its Parental Church 154

3. Differences Between TMC and Lancaster Mennonite Church Conference 158

4. Education at Home and Abroad 162

VI. CONCLUSION

Missionary Work Changed Lives in Tanzania and Affected Mennonitism in Lancaster Conference

1. Lancaster Mennonite Conference Becomes a Sending Church 168

2. The Gospel Changed Lives in Tanzania 171

3. Lancaster Mennonite Conference was affected by Work Involvement 176

BIBLIOGRAPHY 183

INTRODUCTION

I. The Impact of the Mennonite Mission on Mara Region, Tanzania, 1934-1967

The purpose and scope of this study is to discuss the impact of the Mennonite Mission on the Mara Region of Tanzania, from its inception in 1934, to the time when the Mission organization died out. It was replaced in 1967 by the emerging Tanganyika Mennonite Church with the first ordained African bishop. This study traces the beginning of the Mission area now known as the Mara Region, noting some of the conditions that prevailed within the area prior to the coming of the Mission. The author seeks to project the enthusiasm and vigor of the Missionaries together with African responses and reactions. The author moreover is endeavoring to show that the Mission, which later became the Tanganyika Mennonite Church, was a result of joint efforts made by both Africans and Missionaries alike. The expansion in mission evangelism and church growth was without doubt traceable to the participation of African volunteers who themselves were touched by the revival. Mission activities in education, medical work, and church autonomy were further accelerated by African demands and pressures spurred on by historical forces at work. Such forces as revival movements, combined with revision of colonial policy following World War II, and emerging political movements, had the net effect of shaking

the racism and economic exploitation.

In order to present adequately the impact of the Mission's efforts, this study exposes factors pertaining to culture and religion, to education and medical work, to the economy, state and political struggle while revealing how the mission in turn was affected by these agencies of development. This paper explains that the intention of the Mission was to preach the gospel to the "heathen" and "pagan" people for the exclusive salvation of their souls after death with total indifference to the earthly conditions. Nevertheless, the Africans accepted the Mission with its limited religious preachment as a means to social change and advancement in the modern civilization. The Africans regarded religion as a catalyst capable of accelerating change from primitive life and customs to a modern civilized world. To them religion was not different from "reading" (education), for everywhere and always the two things were inseparable in Protestant Missionary operations. This paper thus endeavors to show that when an African talked about change "to be like Jesus" it was not limited to spiritual life in the hereafter, but change from poverty and ill-health to productive human existence on this earth. Thus, there were demands from the African side to the Mission, for economic well-being, improved housing and better education. Consequently, there were disappointments and frustration when the African's demands were ignored by the Missionaries.

This paper purports to show that since the Missionaries were confronted by demands made by the Africans, they in turn appealed to the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities of Salunga, Pennsylvania for directions in order to take in the face of such radical demands from their African members. This paper, from time to time, brings into focus the Eastern Lancaster Mennonite Church Conference, and how the two institutions influenced and affected the Tanganyika Mennonite Church, and how they, in turn, were also affected by the Tanganyika Mennonite Church.

II. Statement of the Problem

This paper endeavors to show that the intent of the Mission was mainly and specifically concerned with only the salvation of the soul in the hereafter. To that end, whatever the Missionaries did was geared towards the salvation of the heathen and pagan souls whose symbols of underdevelopment were depicted in their culture, dress, and tribal customs. However, the author contends that the Africans who came to the Mission had a different view or motive. They saw the Mission as a means to social change with modernization, not necessarily spiritually hidebound, but indeed culturally uplifting. These different concepts and views of the Mission, were bound to clash as the source of disagreement deepened into actual conflict between the two strangers. Evidence of the situation and the problem introduced is found almost from the inception of the

Mission to the establishment of the autonomous Tanganyika Mennonite Church in 1961, together with the first African ordained bishop in 1967.

III. Methodology

This work is based on an historical treatment of materials located in U.S. libraries, particularly those of the Mennonite Church and is drawn from primary sources concerning the traditions and my experiences in Tanzania both from tribal life and the imposed colonial legacy. It will be noted as the work unfolds that the period covered from 1934 to 1967 was an era marked by war and the struggle for independence; which, in turn, developed into strong demands for self-determination in every aspect of life from the political structure following the withdrawal of the British Colonial Office to demands for social change at home to meet the hopes and aspirations of African people.

The Missionary church with its exclusive emphasis and history of "civilizing the heathens" in preparation for salvation after death became an object of contradictions in face of African people with a traditional culture of concern for all - their past ancestors and their unborn children. Said contradictions soon created dilemmas which, the Mennonites finally resolved by elevating an African to become the first Bishop in Tanzania.

As a Tanzanian member of the Mennonite Church with deep roots in the culture and tradition there, said contradictions clearly exposed themselves to me as a young lad. But since I considered these contradictions surmountable, I have sought to apply the tools of knowledge with which mission work equipped me to describe the movement and development, taking cognizance of the contradictions and dilemmas imposed on both Mennonite Missionaries sent out to our country and upon Africans desirous of developing and comprehending the world about them. Out of it all, I have sought to present the scientific truth without exaggeration in order to arrive at positive alternatives which will endow all parties with necessary tools to contribute towards social change as an improved economic state with built-in automatic peace conditions for guaranteeing the survival of men in an age of science and technology with the salvation of all God's children wherever they find themselves on earth and in heaven.

IV. The Content of the Study

Chapter I deals with Tanzanian general survey of social, political and economic conditions that prevailed before the coming of the Mennonite Mission in Mara Region. The author shows the arrivals of different African tribes into the area with their social, religious and economic pursuits. He also shows the Tanzanian contacts with the Eastern and Western worlds, and their impact on the social, political, economic and religious aspects of the African peoples.

Chapter II - 1934 - 1940 describes the zeal with which the missionaries came to lead and the African willingness to follow. The chapter points out briefly the origin of the Mennonite Church in Europe, their missionary involvement in America, their zeal to evangelize in Mara Region, Tanzania, and the cultural shocks they encountered there.

Chapter III - 1940 - 1950 discusses the awakening of the Africans, their desire to change into modern civilization, and the forces that helped them to attain their goal.

Chapter IV - 1950 - 1960 discusses the institutionalization of the mission and the expansion of its secular institutions, namely education and medical work; that in turn accelerated church growth and membership, ordination of African pastors and deacons, evangelization of new areas. It also discusses African political and economic nationalism that took place in the country and how they affected the Mennonite Mission followers.

Chapter V - 1960 - 1967 discusses the process by which the Mennonite Mission became an indigenous church. It points out the African Church's relationship with its parental church abroad, how it differs with that parental church, and the cooperation of the two churches in the field of education.

Chapter VI - This is the conclusion. It discusses how missionary work changed lives in Tanzania and affected Mennonitism in Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church.

CHAPTER I

THE TANZANIA GENERAL SURVEY OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS THAT PREVAILED BEFORE THE COMING OF THE MENNONITE MISSION IN MARA REGION

1. INTRODUCTION

Mainland Tanzania today lies between the Indian Ocean on the east and the great lakes of central Africa (Lake Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyasa) on the west. It borders Kenya and Uganda to the north, Ruanda, Burundi and Zaire to the west; Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south.[1] Since it attained its independence from the colonial rule, the country has been divided into twenty regions. Mara Region is one of them.[2]

Mara Region lies to the north-eastern side of Lake Victoria. It is today divided into three districts: Musoma, North Mara/Tarime, and Bunda. One can reach Musoma town, the headquarters of the Region by train from Dares Salaam to Mwanza, then by steamer from Mwanza to Musoma. Or, by bus from Dares Salaam through Dodoma. Shinyanga, Mwanza to Musoma. There are occasional flights to Musoma from anywhere in Tanzania.

The peoples of Tanzania include racial, ethnic and tribal strains as diverse as any other to be found in the world. The

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[1] William R. Duggan and John R. Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, Orbis Books, Mary Knoll: New York, 1976), p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

Africans also are of divergent hues, customs, economic, political and geographical backgrounds. There are Asian whose composition included Indo-Pakistanese, Goan, Chinese, Arabs and Afro-Shiraz, who emanated from the Arabic and the Persian Gulf many hundreds of years ago. There are also Europeans of different nationalities: British, Germans, Greeks, Italians and Americans. The Africans in Tanzania belong to more than 120 tribes. However, they are politically unified today and live together in cities, towns and villages in good harmony. One common language has been adapted as a medium of communication and interaction among all of the peoples. This language is Swahili which is a mixture of all African dialects in Tanzania and Arabic. Due to the effects of urbanization, modernization, politization, some of the smallest tribal groupings will disappear gradually.[3]

Among the population found all over the country, both in towns and rural areas, there are three distinct types of names. There are African ethnic names, connoting to what tribes the names belong, there are Arabic names connoting those Africans who have embraced the Islamic faith, and then there are Africans who go by European names, meaning that such Africans have embraced the Christian faith.

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[3]Ibid., p. 10.

Those Africans who have embraced Christianity through High Church Missions: Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, have adapted Latin or Greek Christian names. Those who embraced Christianity through Evangelical missions adapted Jewish names from the Bible, for they were considered to be new Israelites through Jesus.[4]

2. THE COMPOSITION OF THE AFRICAN TRIBES

As it has been stated above, the population of Tanzania is composed of different tribes.

> "In their ethnologic origins, the hundred and more tribes of present day Tanzania stem from five main sources: the Aboriginal Bushmen, the Nilotic, the Hamitic, the Nilo-Hamitic, and the loose-knit conglomerate known as Bantu.[5]

The aboriginal Bushmen are supposed to be the earliest inhabitants of Tanzania. They lived in caves. They earned a living by hunting wild animals, and gathering roots and fruits from trees. Their weapons were chunks of stone, big bones of big wild animals, and clubs as well as branches of trees.[6] Today this tribe is represented by the Kindiga who live near Eyas, and the Sandawi who live in Kondoa. Then came the Hamitic group, probably from early Egypt. These were brown skinned people and fine-featured.

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[4]Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 11.

[5]Louis R. Chapman, The Problem of Africa, (Beacon Hill Press Kansas City: Missouri, 1952), p. 10.

[6]Paul Bohannan and Philip Curtin, Africa and Africans, (The Natural History Press, Garden City, New York 1964), p. 200.

They are thought to have introduced the art of chieftainship and government to a high degree. They instituted Kingship that dominated many of the tribes in Ruanda, Burundi, Bukoba, Kusulu, Ngara Sukumaland and Majita. These were the Batusi and Bahima who lived in Western Tanzania.

Another ethnic group who came to live in was the Nilo-Hamitic people who are represented today by the Masai and the Tatog-Barabaig but they are thought to have come from the north also. They were warlike warriors and conquered many tribes in East Africa and took their cows. They developed age-sex-platoon systems. They were conservative people. They lived moving from one place to another in search for grazing areas for their big herds of cattle.[7] The next group of people who came to Tanzania were the Bantu people whose origin is not well known. One source says that they came to East Africa from Southern Africa, providing a bloodline from the Zulu, Mashona, Matebele, the Ngoni and Hehe of Tanzania. Through this source, the Bantu came northward; conquering many peoples and tribes on their way. Another source says that the Bantu came from West Africa, near Eastern Nigeria to Central Congo from where they spread West of eastern and southern Africa. Whatever the origin

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[7] Ibid., p. 97.

was, today the Bantu people cover the whole area of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. They are in the majority in Tanzania, and they are the majority in Mara Region.[8] The most recent group to come to Tanzania was the Nilotic people which is represented by the Luos who live mainly in Tarime District. They are thought to have originated from the Nile Valley and moved southward into Kenya and Uganda. From Kenya they moved to Tanzania even at the beginning of this century. They are linguistically different from the Bantu people. They are found living near river valleys, growing sorghum and grazing cattle. They are eager people to learn and imitate new ways of living.[9]

According to customs, most of the African tribes shared many things in common. They all practiced polygamy. They paid bride-prices when their sons got married. Their technology was simple. They had hoes to till the soil. In hunting, they had developed technology from the chunks of stone and the clubs to an axe, arrows and bows. Of course, they had tamed animals by the time the Arabs came to East African coasts. Religiously, they all believed in animism. They worshipped their ancestors. However, they all believed in a Supreme Being, who was the Creator of live and all living things. They believed in the presence of God to be everywhere, his power-

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[8]Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 12.

[9]Merle W. Eshleman, Africa Answers, Mennonite Publishing House Scottdale: Pennsylvania, 1951), p. 30.

[10]Chapman, The Problem of Africa, p. 19.

fulness and that he was all knowing. They expressed God's presence in their proverbs, songs, prayers, stories, and in their religious ceremonies.[11]

There were differences too among the Africans in Tanzania. Some extracted six lower teeth in their mouths, like the Luos. Others sharpened their upper teeth, like the Zanakis. Some tribes circumcized their male children, whereas others circumsized their males and performed clitorial-ectomy to their females. Other tribes did not bother with any circumcision at all. Some tribes had very powerful Kings who ruled over them, but others had judges to judge cases among them.

3. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The early dwellers lived in caves. Since they did not develop farm implements, they gathered food from trees and roots, and hunted wild animals. As years went by, they could make simple weapons to hunt with. Later on people started farming some cereals such as sorghum, finger millet, and brush millet. They tamed animals too. Then they developed settlements near rivers and lakes. This was the beginning of agriculture and animal husbandry as there came in people with tamed animals. They started trading in one thing

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[11] C. Eric Lincoln (Editor), The Black Experience in Religion, (Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City: New York, 1974), p. 274.

by another. Those who farmed could exchange their farm produce with those who kept animals for meat, or those who fished. Their economy therefore was barter system. This system was still in use at the beginning of this century, especially in rural areas. There were no markets that had been developed in the villages.[12]

In education, no art of writing was introduced or invented. This means that the Africans in Tanzania were unlettered until Christian missions opened schools in the middle of the last century.[13] They did not know how to read or write. However, this does not mean that the Africans were uneducated. Although there were no organized schools as there are today, each individual acquired an education that was designed to fit him in the society he lived in. Under the tribal order, people taught their young ones to be courteous, polite, sympathetic, courageous and brave. Their dialects or languages were full of proverbs, parables, idoms, stories, myths and irony. They had skillful hands and imaginative brains. They could express their ideas and thoughts through their sculptures, cave paintings, tree carvings and through music.

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[12] Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 166

[13] Ibid, p. 186.

> "African intellect, vision, and imagination have found expression in an almost inexhaustible store of folklore. Though naive it reveals an open mind, keen observation and discernment, moral judgment, a sense of humor, and a trend toward ridicule.[14]

Through artistic skills and musical singing, the African could communicate his philosophical ideas. Through myths and stories, the African could teach moral attitudes to his young ones. Through stories he could pass knowledge of history to the future generation. Therefore, although there were no books or pencils the tribal past history was passed to the generation that followed through oral history.

As regards to health, there was no institutional medical treatments as there are today. Parents were supposed to take care of all diseases that befell on their children. When they failed they consulted the juju or the witch doctor.[15] Tanzania being in tropical belt, has tropical diseases such as malaria from mosquitoes, yaws, bilharzia from snails, tuberculosis, leprosy, sleeping sickness and trachoma. These diseases killed people in great numbers.[16] They were hardly cured for nobody knew what caused them. Chicken-pox, small-pox, yellow fever, and mumps were common. Malnutrition and

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[14] Chapman, The Problem of Africa, p. 18.

[15] Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 183.

[16] Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 123.

high infant mortality were the norm.[17] Diseases spread because of unhygenic conditions practiced by the people. There were no latrines. People emptied their bowls in the bush. This could spread hookworms. Some ate raw meat. That could spread tapeworms. They drank unclean water from which diarrhea and dysentry spread. There were no isolation cases of contagious diseases. Those who contacted contagious diseases mixed with those who did not have them. Such diseases were hardly cured. The diets were poor. They were unbalanced. Sometimes tribal customs prevented them from eating certain types of food such as eggs, fruit or meat.[18]

4. TANZANIAN CONTACTS WITH THE EASTERN WORLD

During the first century of Islam (622 - 722 A.D.), there was a mighty expansionist movement of the Arab people. They moved out of the Arabian Peninsular into Central Asia, and North Africa.[19] From the eighth century to the eighteenth, Islamic civilization was to be Africa's chief contact with the Arab world. Muslim conquests drove rapidly across North Africa into Sub-Sahara. Some of them came down to Tanzania through Somaliland and the Sudan. Most of the Arabs came by way of the Indian Ocean in the nineth

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[17] Zimmerman and Leatherman, Africa Calls, p. 17.

[18] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 33.

[19] J. F. Ajayi and Ian Espiel (Editors) A Thousand Years of West African History, (Humanities Press: New York, 1972), p. 115.

century, A.D. By the tenth century, Arab settlements had been established along the coastal areas of East Africa. By 1500, their settlements had covered as far north as Mogadishu and as far south as Sofala in Mozambique.[20] Kilwa Kiswani of Tanzania dominated trade that flowed from Rhodesia and Mozambique. Gold was obtained from Sofala and Rhodesia and was shipped to Arabia. The Arabs introduced new trade in cowries, spices and calico. They established markets in Kilwa, Mombasa and Mogadishu. They built stone towns whose remains can be seen today. They intermarried with African women. The children born to such unions spoke mixed up languages of which has become a lingua franca of East Africa. Islam was engrafted to an African cultural base.

During this time, the Africans adopted Islam as their religion. They lived in cities built by Arabs. Intermarriages brought close affinities between Africans and Arabs. Africans could travel from the interior to the coastal areas. The Arabs provided some guns to some of the chiefs. Africans learned new skills such as carpentry and masonry from the Arabs. They introduced dhows in East Africa. They introduced slave trade which had never taken place before in East Africa. For although the Africans had practiced

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[20] Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 239.

it, not in a trade form, but it was in a form of captivity and prisoners of wars. Slavery in the African practice never made man as a commodity of trade.

5. CONTACTS WITH THE EUROPEAN WORLD

The first Europeans to set foot on the soil of Tanzania were the Portuguese, on their way to India, in 1498.[21] By 1507, they had occupied Mozambique Island and Sofata. They came into conflict with the Arab and Swahili traders who had monopolized trade.. Around 1531, they established settlements on the Zambezi River which was an important area for trade. By 1560s, they had traded with Quelimane, Lourenco Marques Bay, and the Empire of Monomataba, whose king had been baptized by a Jesuit Priest. By 1570, they had seized the Monomatapa gold mines, and forced the King of Monomatapa to sign a vassalage treaty with them, through which the Portuguese sovereignty was recognized over the Monomatapa kingdom.[22]

They became active in trade of gold and slavery. Their effort in the Indian Ocean region was marked by grand designs and too little power to carry them. They hoped to monopolize the spice trade. On the coast of East Africa they seized Kilwa which was the dominant

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[21] Hunter, The New Societies in Africa, p. 4.

[22] William Benton (Publisher) Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, 1973, p. 290.

power controlling trade as far as Sofala. Further north, they built a major fortress at Mombasa to anchor their power on the northern coast. This means that they were able to control the coast of East Africa from Malindi through Mombasa, Kilwa down to Sofala. They were successful in Christianizing some Africans. They even introduced corn and manioc crops from South America. For a short time, they were successful even in the interior, establishing cordial relations which the African Chiefs, converting some of them to Christianity.

After 1700, they faced opposition from several sources. The Turkish raids came from the sea and attacked them. The Galla, a tribe from north which was moving southwards attacked them, while a savage tribe, Zimba who moved northward, sacked both Kilwa and Mombasa.[23] Since Kilwa and Mombasa were lost, the Portuguese were too weak to prevent a trade revival under the patronage and protection of Oman Arabs. They were expelled from the coast north of the Rovuma River by the Arabs and confined themselves only in Mozambique.

The Portuguese impact on Tanzania was slight. The cities remained Islamic in religion, grafted onto an African base. Their

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[23]Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 259.

most important contribution to East Africa culture history was to increase the Africanization of the coastal culture by reducing contact with Arabia.[24]

During this time of Portuguese defeat on Eastern African coasts, some changes were taking place in Western Europe. In 1750s the population of Europe was 140,000,000, by 1850 it had been 266,000,000. This growth was due to a number of factors, among which were a decrease in death rates, rather than to an increase in birth rates, public order and security increased by strong monarchies. There were advances in medical science. An agricultural revolution increased food production. There were constant inventions, reorganization and experiment in new forms. New means of transport were invented. The steam engine revolutionized transportation. People could travel from one country to another and were able to travel overseas.[25]

Due to transportation invention, Western Europe moved to colonize different parts of the world: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Africa and South America. They built many cities with factories and machines. They needed raw materials for their factories. Since some of these raw materials were obtained in

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[24] Ibid., p. 260.

[25] David Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, (Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 92.

[26] Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and African s, p. 293.

Africa, they sailed to African coasts in search of them. They made many journeys of discoveries into the interior of the African Continent. They obtained gold, diamonds, mica and tin from Africa. They found the Continent with so many tribes with different languages. The tribes were fighting among themselves. The Arabs were capturing slaves, shipping them to Arabia.[27]

During these journeys of discoveries, the religious bodies in Europe organized missionary societies and sent missionaries to penetrate into the interior of Africa. In Tanzania, as everywhere in Africa the traders, the physical and biological scientists, and the missionaries met. Missionaries emphasized the depravity of the Africans, whereas the traders asserted that the Africans were peaceful and were progressing along predetermined lines. The physical and biological scientists disregarded the Africans or treated them as specimen. Only the anthropologists who were studying alien cultures could look at Africans bright side.[28] There were therefore different attitudes and opinions of Europeans about Africans. Africa was regarded the Dark Continent by Europeans. There were no schools, no books, no hospitals and no written languages. Missionaries

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[27] Ibid., p. 268.

[28] Ibid., p. 4.

learned African languages. Africans were regarded as savage, who were clean and unriddled by the problem of industrialization and vast social change. On the other hand, the savage could not speak, knew not fire, and was at the mercy of the destructive forces of brute nature. "It must be admitted that the missionaries, probably more than any other single group, kept the myth of savagery alive."[28] Culture shock experienced by missionaries and other travellers was almost invariably reported in terms of inferior qualities. Due to the cultural chauvinism of that time, the African people came out with a very low ranking in the eyes of European moral historians. This attitude gave them a justification of enslaving the Africans. Where they failed to achieve their expectations, their failure became a further sign of basic African inferiority.[29] That is to say that they blamed their failures on the Africans. Linguistic studies also went into African oral literature and smashed once and for all the theory that Africans had no myth nor tradition of the past. Their history began to be reconstructed from linguistic similarities. "Missionaries began to enter the field in force. It was they who pointed out that African religion was not merely

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[28] Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, p. 9.

[29] Ibid.

the absence of religious truth, but was a positive evil." These pioneer missionaries laid a foundation of disrespect, scorn and contempt of the African people. That is why missionaries who came later had been intoxicated by the former missionaries' beliefs and attitudes on the African peoples. They also saw nothing good in Africans and their cultures.

> "Contemporary literature depicted the African Negro as a depraved savage who should be utilized to serve the superior white race."[30]

Industrial Europe forced Western Europe to look for new raw materials from Africa. The traders, the scientists and the explorers all went out into Africa. The explorers went out into Africa in order to open up the interior of the Continent for trade and commerce. Missionaries went to open Africa for the propagation of Christianity. Among the pioneer missionaries were Ludwig Krapf and Johannes Rebman who reached Kilimanjaro, Tanzania in 1848.[31] They opened missionary work in Kenya. Explorers Burton and Speke reached Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria respectively in 1858. Livingstone a missionary-explorer landed at mouth Rovuma River

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[30] Melady, The White Man's Future In Black Africa, p. 44.

[31] William Benton, (Publisher), Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 13 Chicago, 1973), p. 346.

in 1866, explored Lake Nyasa and Lake Tanganyika, and reached Ujiji in 1869, which was the Arab headquarters of ivory and slaves.[32] From these beginnings of explorers, traders, scientists, geographers, and missionary journeys, the interior of the continent was reached. Missionary Societies began vigorously to open mission work in Tanzania. The White fathers started mission work at Tabora and Bogamoya. The University Mission to Central Africa started mission work in Zanzibar, at Masasi, Minaki and Tanga. By the end of the 19th century the Lutherans, the African Inland Mission and the Church Missionary Society had operated mission work all over the country. The Seventh Day Adventists, the White Father Catholic Missionaries had started mission work in today's Mara Region, Tanzania. Most of these mission societies, along with propagating the Christian faith, opened schools and hospitals. They built mission stations and out-reach posts where they opened village schools and dispensed medicine, in addition to their aim of converting "the depraved people" to Christianity. This means that the Missionaries were Europeans who came closer to the Africans much more than the colonial officers. They penetrated into the interior and studied new African languages. They spread Swahili language from the coastal area into the

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[32]William Benton (Publisher), Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 14, Chicago 1973), p. 156.

interior.[33] They tried to stop slave trade and helped the slaves to adjust after they had been set free.

While the traders were busy doing business, the explorers opening up the interior for travel, the missionaries were busy converting the pagan Africans by teaching them to believe in one true God and Jesus Christ His Son. At the same time, there were Arabs busy trading along the coastal areas, and organizing caravans into the interior in order to get ivory, gold and above all slaves. This conflicted with the European traders who had established trade companies in African countries. Some of these Europeans who formed trading companies had already become settlers in respective African countries. They needed protection of their trade and commerce, as well as their property and personal lives. They, therefore tried to do administration of the regions where they traded and farmed. However, they found out that they could not do satisfactorily. They needed special administrative machinery to do the administration.

After 1850s, the European powers had been very much interested in the expansion of their empires overseas. Since Africa, according to them, had weak rulers, tribes, and were divided, it was very easy for these Europeans to divide it among themselves. Around 1884-85,

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[33]Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 65.

the Berlin Conference was convened by which the Continent was divided among Britain, France, Belgium and Germany. Tanzania became German East Africa's possession. In February 1885 Germany issued to the German Colonization Society of East Africa a charter of protection, declaring the "Territory of German East Africa" to be under the Kaizer's suzerainty. The Sultan of Zanzibar, an Arab, who had claimed posession of the territory, was forced to submit to German hegemony. Several German naval vessels were sent to Zanzibar. Soon Germans took title to specified areas of the hinterland. In 1890, the imperial government officially took over administration of the territory as a colony.[34] This included present day Tanzania, Ruanda and Burundi. Britain took possessions of Kenya, Uganda, Malaur, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia. Belgium took possession of Zaire, whereas France took many countries in Africa. The carving of Africa among European powers was then complete.

German colonization was not very easily accepted by the Africans. They were zealous to develop their colony economically but were insensitive to the African religious, political and social

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[34]Duggans and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 20.

feelings. Therefore they encountered a serious uprising which was inspired by Arab and African people at Bagamoyo and Pangani. German government sent in troops to bring an uprising under control. Between 1888-1907, they came into conflict and opened warfare with various tribes in the country, including Wachagga, Wanyamwezi, Wagogo, and Wahehe. These tribes waged serious guerrila warfare against the Germans for fifteen years. The most important of these wars was the Maji-Maji rebellion of 1905-07. It was led by African Chiefs and medicine men. The Africans were against vigorous administrative structure, forced labor and exploitation that the German colonial government imposed upon them. The mighty gun of the Germans left 50,000 dead Africans by the end of the uprising.[35] However, the Africans at least had shown that Africa was not all peaceful and ready to be ruled as Europeans had thought them to be. They had also demonstrated to the Europeans that they wanted to be free human beings in their own country, and that they were not willing to be exploited by forced labor and little pay.

After defeat of the Africans, the German interest now turned to economic development. They invited German settlers who introduced coffee plantations tea and cotton estates. They brought in vocational

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[35] Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 21.

people and Christian missions. Lutheranism was introduced and up to this date the Lutheran Church in Tanzania is very strong. Germans in Tanzania created raw materials which were needed in their home country, they created new outlets for German goods, and created settlements for those Germans who wished to find new homes overseas.

To support plantation economies and exports, they built two rail lines: the Central Railroad in Dares Salaam through Dodoma to Tabora, and Kigoma, and the other from Tanga to Moshi and Arusha.[36] They built administrative centers which were called "bomas", and most of them are still the countrys, regional administrative centers to this day. They built hospitals and roads.

Following the Maji Maji rebellion and before the outbreak of World War I, the colonial government realized that it was essential to seek better rapport with the local inhabitants than they had done before. They made efforts to improve the colonial administration and expand educational and missionary activities. They made efforts to improve infrastructure and the plantation economy. Unfortunately, World War I broke out and they were defeated, and the colony was taken away from them.

Tanzania then was given to be administered by Britian under the League of Nations since 1919, until independence was

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[36] Ibid., p. 21.

attained by the Tanzanians in December 1961. In 1925, a British Governor, Sir Donald Cameron came to Tanzania. He introduced the concept of indirect rule in the country, whereby African tribal chiefs were utilized on a local basis in the fields of customary law and local security. This system of "indirect rule" thus sought to make the remaining chiefdoms loyal local working allies and functionaries of the colonial administration. Cameron also pressed for expansion and diversification of Tanzania's economy. He sought infusion of new capital and expansion of education. He introduced the Legislative Council and Tanzanyika African Association, which was a multiracial socio-political forum of civil servants designed to debate and discuss public issues.

Cameron's indirect rule left many things to the local chiefs. It left educational systems in the hands of missionaries. There were very few government schools in the country. In many regions, there were only local or native authority schools, and were very few indeed. Cameron finished his tour in 1931 and the Mennonite Mission started its operation in 1934.[37]

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[37] Ibid., p. 26.

6. SUMMARY OF EVENTS

It has been shown that the Tanzanians of today are a composition of different ethnic and racial groups who migrated from different parts of Africa. They came from different times and dwelt at different open places. On the way, of course, they either mixed with or clashed against other homogenous groups who were in their way, or whom they found already living in those areas. Those different and various waves of movements caused enmity and wars among and between tribes. That is why Western nations are fond of asserting that there were warfares among the Africans. However, the arrival of different peoples in Tanzania also brought some social and economic improvements. Where people previously gathered fruits and roots of trees for food, they then farmed cereals and reared domestic animals and became fishermen. Where there were only tribal judges, there then were chiefs and rulers who enjoyed great powers, like Chiefs Mkwawa of the Hehe tribe and Mirambo of the Nyamwezi tribe. These chiefs built up kingdoms that challenged colonial regimes at the beginning of the colonial era. Where there were only arrows and bows as weapons for defense, there were then major changes in the technology of war. Guns were bought from the Arabs as well as from Europeans. African Chiefs also trained and disciplined their infantry units. These regiments confronted both the Arabs and colonial rulers.[38]

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[38] Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 278.

Tanzania also experienced arrivals of foreign nations. Arabs introduced cities and markets along the coastal area and along the Great Lakes. They brought in new types of money economy: cowries, beads and cloth. They also brought in new Islamic religion which has been assimilated by the majority of the people, especially in towns and cities. They intermarried with the Africans and as a result Swahili language, which is a lingua franca of East Africa today, came into existence. This language was spread into the interior by both the traders, colonial administrator, Swahili Africans and missionaries. In the last century, the interior of Tanzania was opened by not only Arab traders but also by African tribes. Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Hehe and Makonde, travelled between their tribal lands and the coastal areas in search for work. These also helped the spread of Islamic faith in the interior. It was a time of social change and improvement since the Africans were attracted to seek an alternative kind of life. Africans lived between their rural and coastal areas.

Foreigners also made the Africans fight each other. The Arabs sold guns to one tribe which fought against its neighbors. The captured people were sold as slaves to the Arabs.[39] Some societies were completely destroyed during these wars, whereas other tribal

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[39]Bohannan and Curtin, Africa and Africans, p. 273.

groups became wealthy by selling their neighbors. Tribal warfares, slave trade by Arabs and Europeans, and uprising against colonial rule were major events that left their impact on the minds of the African people. Though at first they held their heads up as free human beings, who did not like to be ruled nor to be exploited, or forced labor imposed upon them by foreigners, their simple technology could not stand in confronting the white men. Gun powder invention and use by the white men toppled the balance of power, for arrows and bows or spears could not match with the explosive gun power from the barrel of the gun.

After the Maji-Maji uprising against the German colonial power, the Africans surrendered the will to challenge the white men. They gave in and let colonialism rule upon them. Among the colonialists, there were the settlers, the traders, the administrators, and the missionaries. Having been defeated by the colonialists, the Africans then turned to the missionaries for improvement. They were eager to advance and develop. The missionaries had the will and the means to help them get what they longed for. They preached the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. They preached equality and love. They opened schools, took in the former Arab slaves, educated them and taught them skills. They treated them whenever they were sick. The Africans adopted the white men's faith.

The activities of missions were more active wherever the two historical and rival missions, namely the Roman Catholic and Lutheran were found.

CHAPTER II

MISSIONARY ZEAL TO LEAD, AND AFRICAN'S WILLINGNESS TO BECOME FOLLOWERS - 1934-1940

1. BACKGROUND: THE SWISS BRETHEREN MOVEMENT

The Mennonite movement began in 1522 as a radical wing of the Zwinglian reformation in Zurich. The movement was begun by the Swiss Brethren, who gathered as a lay group, reading and studying the Bible.[1] They differed very greatly from the other church reformers as Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. Unlike Luther, who adhered to the Roman Catholic doctrine of infant baptism, the Swiss Brethren wanted a complete break with such a doctrine. They asserted an adult baptism. They demanded a personal belief and commitment of an adult. They clung to the Bible. "He who believeth and is baptized shall be saved."[2] Infant baptism to them seemed to be an imposition of the Church authority, without the willingness nor the will of the infant. Therefore, the Swiss Brethren rebaptized themselves as a sign of personal conviction and self-realization of the need to be saved. Hence, they were called "Anabaptists". The Anabaptists insisted on the separation of Church and State. They were convinced that the Church was a composition only of local

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[1]Anchak, George Ronald, An Experience in the Paradox of Indigenous Church Building: A History of the Eastern Mennonite Mission in Tanzania, 1934-1961. Dissertation for the Degree of Ph.D., Department of History, Michigan State University, 1975.

[2]Mark 16:16.

associations baptized and regenerated Christians — thus, they chose to live in free communities and conventicles of their own. They declared themselves non-conformist. The Bible became the sole law of their community. To them, Christian development was preaching the word, hearing, believing, being baptized and fine works.[3] "...faith, if it hath no works, is dead -- Seest though now faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect..."[4] To the Anabaptists, the Lord's Supper was a remembrance and not a sacrifice as Luther and the Roman Catholic believed. With the Anabaptist groups, each congregation chose their own leaders, who in turn administered the congregation through the people who chose them. Their members of the clergy were not salaried by the state as the Calvinist preachers. They developed a doctrine of non-violence and non-conformity to this world. They did not bear arms or use coercion. They used no form of oath. "But let your communication be "...Yea, yea, Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil."[5] They did not like to associate themselves with the ruling forces or powers that oppressed people, "their kingdom was not of this world, but of heaven". Other Church reformers were not pleased with their

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[3]Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church, (Charles Scribners' Sons: New York, 1959), pp. 327-328.

[4]James 2:19-22.

[5]Matthew 5:35-37.

stand. They regarded them as radicals, who were associated with lawlessness and disorderliness. The Anabaptists encountered hostility and rejection by all major reformers. Since they did not stop their radicalism, they faced severe punishments: some were drowned. Others were burned at the stake. Most of them faced severe persecutions. In order to avoid confrontations, they migrated from Zurich to Southern Germany, and then to the Netherlands. Finally, some came to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between 1700 and 1800.[6]

After 1525, the leadership of the Anabaptists in Holland came under Menno Simon. Since then the followers got their name from him. They become known as Mennonites. From the very beginning they had a missionary zeal; for their movement was born out of a witness by sharing and studying the Bible together. They became evangelical minded. They concluded that only when the gospel is preached, can men believe, and only when they believe, should they be baptized. They believed that the great commission of Matthews 28:19, was the responsibility of all Christians to preach, and not for priests only.[7] They regarded themselves as a chosen

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[6]Walter Klassen, Anabaptism: Neither Catholic Nor Protestant (Conrad Press, Waterloo: Ontario, 1973), p. 8.

[7]Matthews 28:19.

generation of royal priesthood, an holy nation, and a peculiar people.[8]

However, due to constant and severe persecutions, as well as irritating tortures, these humble people were affected, and as a result, they lost their missionary zeal. They became quiet folks in the land. They led an isolated and confined life, in their own communities. As they were not willing to participate in civic matters, no government or authority was ready to help them. As they condemned church reformers, no reformer or church was willing to help them for they regarded such churches as worldly.[9] They were therefore treated mercilessly.

> "Gradually missionary zeal was lost and the Mennonite became the "Quiet in the land", emphasizing adherence to a traditional faith, and cultivating the virtues of simple, non-resistance, but with little sense of responsibility to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[10]

2. THE MENNONITES IN AMERICA REAWAKENED FOR MISSIONARY WORK

The Mennonites who came to America lived in groups of their own. They were withdrawn from the rest of the American stream, even from other denominations; for to them, those who led a different kind of life from theirs, were worldly. In worship,

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[8] I Peter 2:9.

[9] C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, (Mennonite Publishing Office, Newton, Kansas, 1957), p. 17.

they used German language. They thought God spoke and understood only German.[11] English to them was a language for commerce, industry and politics. It was therefore worldly. They clung to the soil, tilling the land. They shunned away from modern inventions as well as from utilities, because to them, these were worldly. Worse still, even programs in missions were associated with innovations that they shunned as evil.[12]

However, there were great revivals in the United States in 1700's and 1800's. They stimulated the churches to a vigorous new growth. They broke down denominational barriers and helped to unify people in the colonies. Revival produced an energetic social and intellectual ferment among the lower classes, and instituted emphasis upon religious activism and lay leadership. They promoted missionary activities, philanthropy, charity, and education. Church membership increased due to revivals, and they made soul winning the primary function of the ministry. They enabled people to activate foreign missions.[13]

The Mennonites who had been withdrawn, dormant, and inactive in missions were not passed by by the revivals. They found out that in other denominations lives had been touched, souls had

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[11]C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, p. 586.

[12]Kraybill, (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 6.

[13]Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 469.

been saved, life had been happier and richer among those who had been touched by the revivals. The Mennonites therefore could not have been exceptionists, indifferent and unconcerned. They were also attracted to enter the stream that swept their neighbors. Although they were good Christians, they had remained traditionalists, adhering to the customs and ways of their forefathers. They had remained sectarians, had lost their missionary zeal, and were hardly increasing numerically. They were even suspicious of themselves, for they lived in different groups, pockets, some groups regarding the others as worldly. George Anchak, for example, says that the Virginia Conference accused the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities of non-orthodoxy in church matters, worshiping with other denominational missionaries in India, placing too much emphasis on education rather than evangelism, too much fraternization with non-Christian teachers in mission schools, dressing in a manner not in keeping with Mennonite dress.[14]

Paul Erb wrote, "The soul of neither an individual nor a group can grow in richness and strength unless it reaches out beyond itself."[15] In order to grow numerically and expand their

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[14] C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, p. 551.

[15] Paul Erb, Orie O. Miller - The Story of a Man and an Era, (Herald Press: Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1969), p. 180.

witness for Christ, the Mennonites in America were forced to involve themselves in spiritual and community religious matters. "What was it that awakened the Mennonite Church -- to realize that she was not fulfilling her duty in the way of preaching the Gospel in both home and foreign needy fields?"[16] The revival movements stimulated changes that took place in the Mennonite Church. Young people within the Mennonite church were not at home with Pennsylvania Dutch or German languages. Hence, Mennonites were forced to switch to using English in worship and sang songs written in English. Since revivals came with Sunday School teachings in other denominations, the same movement took place in the Mennonite Church. The thought which was previously opposed as worldly, became viewed as a means to feed and strengthen the church.[17] In 1887, Sunday School was introduced in the Lancaster Mennonite Conference. The Sunday School organization was changed to The Lancaster County Sunday School Mission. In 1894, "The Home Mission Advocates" was organized.

Commenting on revival in the Lancaster Conference Mennonite Conference, John H. Mellinger, the father of missions observed:

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[16]Kraybill (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 31.

[17]Max Warren, Revival - An Enquiry, (SCM Press Ltd., Bloomsburg Street: London, 1954) p. 16.

> "The brooding of the Holy Spirit, an accumulation of prayers of the saints, "Some train weeks in which young people lost their lives," Sunday School, English preaching by evangelists and home pastors, English funeral sermons--these forces influenced young people into the church at a younger age.[18]

The revival movements, therefore were not a loss to the Mennonite Church in Lancaster, but it was indeed a gain on part of the church.

Speaking on the purpose of Sunday School Mission, John W. Weaver, a Lancaster County Evangelist observed:

> "...the object and purpose of this organization is the same as that of the church of Christ, namely, the winning of the souls for Jesus.[19]

In 1914, the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities was organized. In 1916, a charter was granted. In 1917, the Mission Board took over the functions of the Sunday School Mission. The Board was active in congregational outreach, itinerant evangelism, migration evangelism, voluntary service, and overseas missions.[20] Since the board had included foreign missions among its activities they were eager and enthusiastic to start mission work overseas.

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[18] Kraybill (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 34.

[19] Ibid, p. 44.

[20] Ibid, p. 55-63.

In 1926, one bishop publicly endorsed the idea of the Eastern Board to establish a mission on witness in Africa. After discussions between 1927 and 1929, about starting missionary work, the following resolution was passed:

> "Resolved that this board take note of a seemingly growing conviction within the brotherhood that in our developing missionary interests, the unreached portions of Africa should become included.[21]

In the early 1930's, the Bishops' Board asked the Mission Board to start a mission in Africa. In late 1933, Orie Miller and Elam Stauffer were sent to Africa to find a place to start mission. They tried unsuccessfully to locate a place in the Sudan. They then proceeded to Tanganyika. When they reached Dares Salaam, they found Protestant missionaries having a conference. When the two strangers expressed their intent to establish a mission in Tanganyika, they were, among other places, led to go the the South-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, to a district called Musoms. When the two strangers contacted the British colonial government in Dares Salaam, the colonial officers nodded in agreement, and gave train tickets to the new mission seekers. Miller and Stauffer travelled from Dares Salaam to Shinyanga and Mwanza. In Mwanza, Stauffer

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[21] Ibid., p. 61.

was introduced to Edward Sywuluka, a veteran missionary of the African Inland Mission, Miller then left for India, white Stauffer and Sywuluka toured all over Minsoma District.

3. MISSIONARY ZEAL TO LEAD AND AFRICAN WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW

Musoma District then covered what is today known as Mara Region. The area had been avoided by other missions because there were small language groups. It is a region with more than ten tribal dialects. It was easier for missions to work with big tribes with one language. Secondly, the area was far away from Dares Salaam. It was not, therefore, very easy for missionary seekers to think of such an area. It was too far from Dares Salaam. The central railroad stopped away from the area. Therefore, it was a neglected area.

There was some missionary work that had been started in the area prior to the coming of the Mennonite Missionaries. In Majita, fifty miles south of Musoma town, there was a Seventh Day Adventist Mission station. Ten miles away from Musoma District there was another Roman Catholic Mission Station. However, the area was too big to be covered by the work of these two missions.[22] Vehicles were scarce, and the roads were very few, communication

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[22]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 42.

therefore was a problem. Furthermore, a third Christian mission, which was very much different from the former two, was necessary for variety reasons. The more different Christian missions were in one given area, the better it was for the local people. They had a wide choice to choose from. Secondly, the mission behaved in a rivalry way. They could, therefore, compete among themselves. By so doing, the natives could benefit from their rivalries, for each mission endeavored to build more schools, dispensaries, and provided economic opportunities for the natives.

Elam Stauffer and Edward Sywulka toured the area, visiting and exploring sites.[23] They travelled by different means. They walked, bicycled, used canoes and dhows, and sometimes they rode in trucks. It might be that they slept in tents throughout the journey. However, their personal belongings were carried on the shoulders and heads of their African porters. These were possibly the pilots of the missionaries. They were the language interpreters between their people and the foreigners. They received very little pay, if any. Nevertheless, history does not seem to remember or appreciate their services. They are hardly mentioned, except when on of them misbehaved, or ran away with missionary

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[23] Kraybill (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 174.

property. Then the whole African race would be blamed or disgraced due to an error made by a single individual.

At last, Stauffer and Sywulka got to a place called Shirati, on the Katuru Hill, about seventy miles north of Musoma town, and only eight miles from the border between Tanzania and Kenya. The two travellers stood on the hill, and Sywulka said to Stauffer, "This is the place." Stauffer, seeing that the hill was away from the people, asked, "To whom shall I preach? The Trees?" Sywulka answered saying that in Africa there was a frontier between animals and inhabited land. The human frontier keeps moving. He assured Stauffer that as the frontier moved on, those interested in the gospel would settle near the mission. Stauffer trusted the veteran missionary and accepted the place.[24] The Katuru Hill indeed was the place where the missionary zeal started and from which the activities of the Mennonite Mission sprung and spread.

At once, Stauffer hurriedly saw the local African Chief for a plot to start the mission. The chief, as if he had been waiting for the mission to start in his area, granted a piece of land of ten acres, Stauffer sent for his wife and John Mosemann and his wife to come to the mission field. Work started immediately. The first week they came into contact with the

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[24]Kraybill (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 175.

people there, they asked them to come to church.

On the work of the mission, Stauffer noted that:

> "Strong evangelism, teaching the word,
> limited educational and medical work...
> thus would build a strong church.[26]

Commenting on their mission zeal, David Shenk, son of a Missionary, born in Tanzania observed:

> "But foremost the missionaries were evangels.
> At every new station a service was held the
> first Sunday the missionaries were present.
> The gospel was proclaimed...village visitation
> was a first priority and the sharing of the
> good news a daily vocation...Within ten years
> the church had taken root with approximately
> 200 baptized members in a dozen little congre-
> gations...[27]

Missionaries needed things like milk, eggs, chickens or sweet potatoes. The local people took these things to the mission station for sale. The missionaries took advantage of such opportunities to witness for Christ. They were aggressive as well as ardent in evangelism. The Africans listened very carefully and attentively. They nodded in agreement with what the missionaries told them. Some of these people came to church.

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[26]Kraybill (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 176.

[27]David W. Shenk, Mennonite Safari, (Herald Press: Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 39.

The Missionaries had come with a clear vision of what type of church they would build. They had intended to build a church that would be self-progating, self-supporting, and self-governing. Hence, they worked very diligently to get Africans who would enable them to attain that goal. To reach that, they decided to open schools as one of the means of getting personnel. Thus, there were schools in every mission station.

> "Manifesting the love of Jesus is a goal that leads the missionary enterprise into an unlimited variety of service, such as -- education, medical work, training, in addition to direct evangelistic efforts. All of these should be integrated into the goal of establishing living, and expanding churches.[28]

For this reason, Shenk observed:

> "The Missionaries were teachers within weeks of arrival at Katuru Hill, they began reading classes so that potential Christians would be able to read God's word for themselves.[29]

Eshleman confirmed that:

> "From the first year of our mission in Musoma District, some school work was done. We recognized that it would be necessary for the Africans to be able to read in order to understand the word for themselves. The spiritually awakened African has a desire to learn, and we have a moral obligation to provide an adequate education for our spiritual children."[30]

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[28]Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 13.

[29]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 39.

[30]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 63.

The mission expanded. Shirati mission station was built in 1934, Bukiroba station in 1935, Mugango station in 1936, Bumangi station in 1937, and Nyarero station in 1940. Later, Nyiboko station at Kisaka, Ngruimi was built. At each mission station there was a school up to an equivalency of third grade. Classes were taught by missionaries at first. After a few years, missionaries taught the higher classes and the assistant Africans taught the lower grades. The curriculum was the simple 3Rs.

> "The plans at first were to have this educational work as simple as possible. Reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and a few other simple studies would be sufficient, and no attempt would be made to educate the masses or to meet government requirements.[31]

In reading classes, there were no available information or literature books. The most available text book was the Bible. It was read during reading classes, and it was studied during Bible period. Sometimes Pilgrim's Progress was used as a literature book. In handwriting classes, a passage was copied on the blackboard from the Bible. It was a Christian education curriculum which was Bible centered.

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[31] Ibid, p. 64.

A few years later, third and fourth grades were added, especially at Mugango and Shirati. A few more subjects were added to the curriculum. Geography was added, simply because it had connections with the evangelization of the regions of the world. It was helpful for the protestant believers to know what areas were being missionarized by Islam, and which ones were being evangelized by the Roman Catholics.[32] Hygiene was also added to the curriculum in order to teach the rules of health and clean habits, for "cleanliness is next to godliness."[33] In Hygiene, students were taught to take a bath everyday, using soap and water, to wash one's face every morning; brushing of teeth and cleaning houses, were among the emphasized teachings. Young people were taught to sleep early in order to keep strong and healthy. A kind of balanced diet, foods that derived different types of vitamins: fish, greens, meat, eggs, milk, starch and many other types of food were encouraged for good meals. Though these were theoretical studies, they made a slow and gradual impact in the lives of the people. Thirty years later, life had been quite different from the one in 1934. Then there were clean and good looking bodies. Their housing had

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[32] Guy Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, (Frederick A. Praeger. New York, 1962), p. 75.

[33] M. Hershey Leaman, The Relationship Between Voluntary Agency and Government Health Services in Tanzania, (Thesis, submitted to Pittsburg, University, 1969), p. 18

improved; clean, ventilated and more spacious. These were accele- 34
rated by outreach schools that were operated by the African believers. People from the remote areas of the country went to the mission station for two or three years to study. On the completion of their studies, some of them felt a call to go back to evangelize their own people. Some went back because there was no more to study on the mission station. They had grabbed all that the missionaries wanted them to know: reading the Bible, simple arithmetic and writing. However, others went because they wanted to carry the message of
35
Jesus to people of their own homes.

To be regarded as "mwalimu" (teacher), or "kiongozi wa Kanisa"
36
(church leader or counselor), was to them a status. They were readers because they knew how to read, to write and simple arithmetic. They knew much more than the rest of the villagers. Furthermore, they were clean and a better dressed than most of the local people. In addition they knew a new language - Kiswabili. They could teach and preach. In addition to this, they had been baptized, had new names from the Bible. They had become new creatures. They had a new power and courage not to depend on the

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[34] Ibid., p. 66

[35] John 4:38

[36] Zimmerman and Leatherman, Africa Calls, p. 141.

witch doctor or the juju, for they had a new master, Jesus Christ. Beside these, the Mzungu (the white missionary) could visit and fellowship with these church leaders. The missionaries came to be identified with these bush school teachers. In Majita, they were known as Kanejas Europeans (missionaries), as the African Inland Missionaries came to be known as Malongo's missionaries, and in Shirati they would be known as Kisare's missionaries. Therefore, it was quite a fame to them to be identified with the Missionaries.

The out schools or the bush schools became the feeders of the Mission Station schools, a source for evangelism in villages which were far away from the Mission Station. They were the centers for Christian life in the villages. They became worshipping places where the gospel was proclaimed by these semi-illiterate lay preachers.[37] Most of these bush schools became registered primary schools in the mission in 1950's.

In addition to opening schools and operate medical work in order to accelerate evangelism and get African church personnel, the mission operated Girls' Homes.[38] They thought that the converted men would find it hard to be married to non-christian wives. Further, they realized the role played by women in families. Thus

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[37]Hunter, The New Societies in Africa, p. 78.

[38]Ibid., p.79.

to strengthen African Christian homes, they started Girls' Homes, whereby young girls come to live on a mission station, went to school and became believers. Lastly, they married Christian men, mostly from the same mission station. Some girls came to the Girls' Home at their own will, in order to get an education. They did so after they had met other girls who had been there already. Others went there because their parents were Christian and church leaders, who were transferred here and there. To these, the Home was an ideal place to live and go to school. Still others went there in order to escape forced marriages, for it was usual for African girls to get married to men against their own wishes and will.[39] This was the beginning of emancipation of women.

> "The Home has served a big purpose in leading young girls into deeper fellowship with the Lord Jesus as well as supplying wives to young Christian men."[40]

The Home became very attractive. The girls were given uniforms: a white dress, and a white veil, which was worn at all times, specifically during prayer meetings and on Sunday services, or in catechism classes. They went to school. They were taught to sing some songs in English. Once the author of this paper

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[39] Ibid., p. 78.

[40] Anchak, p. 147.

heard them sing "Joy, joy, My heart is full of joy. When my sins are forgiven, I will go to heaven." They sang in church on Sundays as well as during Bible conference. Their songs, their veils, their white dresses, and the broad smiles on their faces attracted both other girls and church people. Their plain dresses and the veils on their heads made them look like the Mennonite women in Lancaster Mennonite Churches. The Missionaries likened them as plain and non-conformists. It was gratifying to the Missionaries to have such Christian girls because out of them the Missionaries anticipated strong Christian homes in Africa. They hoped that with these girls the Western custom of dating would be started.

> "Finding Christian life companion for our young Christian men has been a vital problem, which still exists on some of our stations, but it has resolved in part by the Girls' Homes.[41]

These Girls' Homes were started at Shirati and Mugango Mission stations. Later, they were also introduced on other mission stations. But Shirati and Mugango remained shining examples of such an institution. There were many girls on each one of them and good leadership. The girls went to school. They learned Kiswahili. They were taught to sew dresses, shirts and underpants for the children.

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[41]Missionary Messenger, November 1938: Archives of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Salungar, Pennsylvania.

Later, they were taught to bake cookies and bread, child welfare, cleanliness and many other things. But to be sure, devotions and prayers were a routine of the day.

> "Girls from heathen or Christian homes are accepted. They live in a large house built for this work, and their day is divided between duties connected with sharing responsibilities of life in the home. There is an open opportunity to give them Christian teaching.[42]

In addition to Girls' Homes, missionary women started women's activities. They ran sewing classes whereby African women learned to sew for their children. They also had time for fellowship. They read the Bible and prayed together and visited the sick. These were all strategies by the Missionaries to propagate the gospel.

Almost at the very beginning of the mission, aspirin and quinine tablets were given to the Africans to treat fever and malaria. In 1935, Dr. Lillie Shenk arrived at Shirati. The intention of her coming to Tanganyika was primarily to take care of the missionaries.[43] However the natives were coming in about everyday with sores or wounds, or sickness they wanted healed.[44] To turn the Africans

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[42]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 69.

[43]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 72.

[44]Zimmerman and Leatherman, Africa Calls, p. 114.

away from getting medical treatments, would have been unchristian. Worse still, a professional doctor or nurse could have violated medical ethics. Since they were Christian medical personnel, their consciences troubled them if they turned away the sick people.[45]

> "The medical missionary believed that God has called him or her to bring relief to physical bodies, to teach better living conditions, to offer more chance for babies and mothers to live along with this, to give the gospel message.[46]

The Mission Board at Salunga urged missionaries in Tanzania not to involve themselves in big institutional work. Everything was to be kept at a minimum level, except evangelism, which was to be expanded far and wide.

> "I believe that all of us feel that we do not want too much institutional work in our missions. Our business is soul winning and our primary purpose is still that we undertake must be soul saving.[47]

Yet, missionary medical professionals were dragged into heavy medical work almost against their will. This was because they had an interest in their profession, in the first place. Secondly, they had a Christian compassion and love. It would have been very

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[45]Louise R. Chapman, The Problem of Africa, p. 49-53.

[46]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 67.

[47]Missionary Messenger, November 1938: Archives of Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities: Salunga, Pennsylvania.

conflicting to turn away an African who might have needed medical attention in the morning, then approach the same person in the afternoon, witnessing to the same about Jesus Christ's love to all mankind. To adhere to the principle of the Mission Board, and ignore the sick and the dying, would have meant to preach the gospel to the dying in their death beds; but rejecting or refusing the fellowship of their happy living. It would have been, therefore, a mission for the dying, without wanting to see these happy believers alive and healthy.

It was gratifying to Jesus to heal the possessed person of evil spirits, and inviting him to sit calmly at the foot of Jesus, sound minded and well-dressed. Then Jesus told him, "Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God has done unto thee." "Would it be Christian to turn them away?" The christian medical professionals wondered. "Would it be medically ethical," the doctors argued. The medical professionals had a different view. They argued that those who came to Jesus bodily afflicted, were healed; and not turned away. The sick, the leper, the blind, the crippled, all went away happily, for they had been healed. The medical professionals were convinced that the gospel included a healing ministry for the body.[49] They challenged the mission by

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[49]Luke 4:18.

saying that it was unchristian to send professionals to care for the missionaries only. They further argued that the Africans too were God's Children and deserved as much professional care in the time of illness as missionaries did. Furthermore, they contended that it was unchristian and totally unjustified to invest years of efforts and thousands of dollars in tooling up for medical work in Africa, only to discover the doctors activities to handing out aspirin tablets.[50] The mission complied with the doctors thinking and reasoning. It opened a big hospital at Shirati. They opened a big dispensary at Nyarero. They operated dispensaries at Mugango, Bukiroba, Bumangi and at Kisaka: Later this dispensaries were operated by missionary nurses or trained African nurses. The doctors visited these dispensaries occasionally.

Medical work carried out full scale evangelism. Every morning before medicine was dispensed, the gospel was preached to the sick and the afflicted. Some of them believed and became churchmen.

> "Christian existence is revolutionary existence, and that the church's service to the world is that of being the pioneer of every social reform...[51]

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[50] Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 72.

[51] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 10.

4. CULTURAL SHOCKS

The general belief by the missionaries was that Africa was the land of heathens and pagans.[52] It was the land of darkness, tropical illnesses and death. It was thought to be the land of the savages, the brutal and uncultured people. To them, Africa was the place of the primitive customs and unhygienic habits. It was a place for the illiterate and ignorant. Therefore, missionaries came with a superiority attitude, arrogance and paternalism. "Missionaries and educationalists alike at first saw nothing good in the old ways, they did their level best to destroy them."[53]

Missionaries marvelled at the lack of progress that had characterized the past centuries.[54] They found no progress had been made, not even the technology of the simple wheel had been developed. They concluded that the Africans had been contented to live under the same conditions that their ancestors had lived for centuries. They found no improvements in building, sanitation, medical care, education, or in transportation. Dr. Merle Eshleman wondered whether or not such impotency in progress was not due to the tropical climate? He went further, to wonder whether or not

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[52]Thomas Patrick Melady, The White Man's Future In Black Africa, (MacFadden Book, Publisher: New York 1962), p.44.

[53]Susan Wood, Kenya - The Tensions of Progress, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1960), p. 5.

[54]Eshleman, Africa Answers, pp. 40-41.

the impotency was not due to the curse placed on Crin? That the Mennonite Missionaries came assuming that they had nothing to learn from the Africans, but to teach them everything.

In those days, the Africans were very poor.[55] They wore scant clothes. The old folks wore skins of animals, which only covered them half. Some of the younger ones wore rags of dirty shirts and shorts. They hardly had shoes. Housing was poor and small huts, built of poles, thatched with grass. People slept in the same house with animals like sheep, goats and calves. Food was eaten -- not from the table, but from containers on the floor. Usually, men ate it outside the house, unless it was raining. This was a sign of generosity that eaters were not greedy, but that they were ready to share their meal with any strangers passing-by.[56] Women ate their meal in a separate group. Not because they were considered inferior, but it was because of the nature of the clothes people wore in those days. There was no dining table nor table chairs. People sat in short stools. Since there was no sufficient clothes that covered the whole body; and since there were no underpants worn, it was only logical for women to sit separately to avoid nakedness. Today, people have tables where they eat

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[55] Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, (Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1962), p. 49.

[56] Zimmerman and Leatherman, Africa Calls, p. 99.

food from, sitting in table chairs, weaving decent clothes to cover them properly. There is no reason why people should eat separately.

The African society practiced polgamy. A man could marry several wives if he so desired. There were a number of different reasons to this custom. Some wanted to have many children - sons and daughters. A big family solved their work problems very easily. A big family was a sign of power and stability. Since they worked so hard, there was enough food. Economically the family was well off. It had enough food and domesticated animals. Such a family was usually wealthy, which in turn generated social and political power. Such a family, therefore, was not very easily attacked. Above all, polygamy in Africa had a humanitarian connotation, it was not therefore a means to enslave wives or women.

The African society believed that every human being, male or female, was entitled to marry unless for serious reasons such as lunacy or impotency. However, since there were many more women than men, men therefore had access to being married to more than one wife. In the old days, there were advantages for women to be married to a polygamist. A woman could satisfy her biological drive. She could be cared for during illness as well as during old age. Either her husband would take care of her, or her children. Her children would be born in a wedlock and have a father, belong to a family name, to a clan and to a tribe. Children have a legal inheritance. Bastard children, born out of wedlock, were laughed

at and even despised. For these reasons, all males were supposed to have been married. Those who avoided marriages, were regarded as impotent. They were not respected. The society thought of them as irresponsible as well as immature. Likewise, all women were supposed to get married in order to feel secure. The Jita people had a proverb, "Every skin must be used as a mattress." So long as a female was a woman, she was to marry - If no single person was available, the polygamous would take her. By so doing, the African society eliminated loneliness and tensions among women.[57] Therefore there was no legal prostitution in African societies.

Mennonite Missionaries, like most of the missionary groups, disrupted African families. Those who wanted to join the church as believers, were told to put away all their wives, save one, before they were admitted into the Church. No matter how long such wives had stayed with their husbands, still they had to go if the husband became believers. Some of the Africans could send their wives away and remained with only one. Those who could not do so, retained their wives while the church slammed its doors behind them! Was Jesus salvation short of saving polygamists, even though they had been married according to the laws of the land and the tribe? Some

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[57] Ilogu, Christianity and African Culture, p. 72.

Africans reasoned the validity of that, while referring to patriarchs like Abram, Jacob, David and Solomon. These were all polygamous, however, the Bible speaks very highly of their relationship with God. These are the pillars of faith in the Old Testament. The Africans concluded that polygamy threatened the Western patterns of culture and norms; that was the very reason monogamy was imposed upon the Africans.

Christianity overlooked the suffering that the wives went through when they were sent away so that their husbands would become Christians. For a wife to go away from her husband without grave misunderstanding between them, it was quite an uprooting from the culture of the land. Where was she to go, back to her parents? What about her children? There were therefore psychological tortures and tensions within. The author thinks that where there is Western men's intentions and ideals, other people's sufferings do not arise. It was bad enough that missionaries did not understand the complex problem of polygamy for the African converts. At Shirati, Manyi chose to retain his wives and have a clear conscious rather than create torments against his culture and norms by sending some of his wives away. However, he remained outside the Christian brotherhood.[59]

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[59]Eugene A. Nida, Customs and Cultures, Harper & Row: New York, 1954), pp. 264-265.

The African societies adapted polygamy for humanitarian reasons, as this has been explained above. However, it was an economic practice as well. With modern education for both men and women, with high standards of living people go through today, depending on money economy, bringing up large families and children with many wives and different mothers will be so hard to manage. Christianity could combine these two forces - education and economy in order to kill polygamy. It could die a natural death instead of creating tensions among members of the same family, uprooting cultural bases and sowing the seed of hatred instead of implanting Christian love.[60]

Besides polygamy, there were other cultural shocks that astounded the Missionaries. Among the Luo tribe, young people extracted six lower teeth. Among the Bakuria people, there were initiation and circumcision rites with a lot of ceremonial and customary tribal teachings. The Bakuria and other tribes in Mara Region performed clitoral ectomy. In all these ceremonies there were ancestral worships and sacrificial offerings.[61] Other tribes such as the Luo, danced with spears, wailing confusedly, when death occurred. To the Missionaries, all these were perplexing,

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[60] Ibid., pp. 220-222.

[61] Ibid, p. 17.

astounding, as well as astonishing. Everything different from their way of life and practices, was pagan, primitive, heathen, savage, as well as unchristian.

> "Africans have been in spiritual darkness for many centuries. Satan has had absolute sway in keeping them in heathen darkness, fear and superstition. It is now glorious privilege of the Missionary to bring the light of the gospel to them.[62]

Commenting on "Shocks and Surprises" by the Missionaries Nida remarked:

> "The Missionary's problem was that he had carried with him the cultural patterns of his own home town and was not prepared for the shock of different standards.[63]

Concerning the Europeans and their problems, Hunter commented:

> "The Missionaries, by contrast are deeply and wholly concerned to change, and in Africa society they found so much to change, not only idolatory, but polygamy, initiation, sexual behavior, cruelty, magic, the treatment of children, and almost every aspect of life. His call on the government was to protect as if necessary support in suppressing unchristian customs.[64]

On this kind of Missionary attitude, Nida observed:

> "This kind of 'missionary' work is not much different from the idea of the "White man's burden," a kind of self-gratifying and self-rewarding paternalism which was cited as the

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[62]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 61.

[63]Nida, Customs and Cultures, p. 1.

[64]Guy Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, (Frederick A. Prager: New York, 1964), p. 17.

> moral justification for colonialism by Western Europe."[65]

The author remembers on some occasions when Missionaries wanted to take pictures of the African churchmen, they asked them to take off shoes if they wore some. The Missionaries liked taking pictures that showed the bad side of the Africans.

> "In the past, Europeans superiority was unchallenged.. This situation is changing rapidly...The European's superiority, necessary during the primitive stage of development, is questioned on every hand."[66]

The African churchmen, at least for sometime, unwillingly followed what the missionaries told them to do without much questioning. It was not because the Africans were fools or stupid, but because they were wise in doing so. They had not been in contact with the Missionaries long enough to know them and their feelings and reactions. Their willingness gave them a strategy to know the missionaries as they differed from the colonial government officers. They found out, at least superficially, that the missionaries were talking of love of God and brotherhood of man. However, in their approach and regard of the African people, missionaries were not very much different from the colonialists. They regarded the Africans as savage, heathens, pagans, and natives. The African believers regarded them as the lesser evil of the two. Since the Africans needed them as a means and a vehicle to change, to progress, and to develop, they did not desert the missionaries. An African proverb says, "Follow the bee to get honey". Missionaries were

like bees who had honey. They were like a stream of water in a dry desert. All the tribes in Musoma district had to go to the stream in order to drink water. After the men had drunk of that water, they wanted it also for their wives and children, as well as for their relatives.

CHAPTER III

THE AWAKENING OF AFRICANS AND THE HISTORICAL FORCES THAT HELPED THEM TO CHANGE AND MODERNIZE, 1940 - 1950

I. A DESIRE TO CHANGE

In the last chapter it was found that as soon as the Mission station was started at Shirati, on the Katuru Hill, the Africans came to join immediately. The Mission purpose and interest were to preach the gospel to "the lost heathens", in order to save their souls.[1] However, the African's motives and interest in coming to the mission were quite different from those of the Missionaries. They longed to change from living a precarious subsistence life of tilling the land to a life of money economy,[2] where they would be sure of getting a monthly income. Therefore, they came to the Mission in order to get jobs and employment.

No doubt, some of these men had travelled to Kenya where they saw some of their friends working for settlers on their plantations, getting monthly salaries. Some of these people at Shirati had been away from home to work on gold mines. Still there were others who

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[1] Kraybill (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 172, Edmund Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, (NOK Publishing Ltd: New York, 1974), p. 56.

[2] Guy Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa, (Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1962), p. 14. Kraybill, (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 165.

had travelled far to towns like Kisumu, Mombasa and Nairobi City, in order to learn new skills and trades. They had been migrant workers in towns.[3] In travelling, they had come across some friends who had gone to some Mission Schools and had professional jobs. They also knew some of their friends who had been to school, worked as clerks, interpreters, and messengers at the Government boma. Most certainly, some of those who came to the Mission had been in contact with the Seventh Day Adventist Missionaries who had opened schools to educate the Africans in their Mission.[4] They also had heard that some Missions dispensed medicine and treated illnesses that had defeated witch doctors, or the juju to cure. Now, they were so fortunate that that a mission had come in their vicinity and in their midst, so why not take advantage of the situation.

The Africans told each other, "An elephant has fallen to us today. Let's go and get some of its meat".[5] The Africans went to Stauffer one by one, in twos, or in groups and said that they wanted some work or employment. Some wanted to be simple laborers since they did not have special skills. Those who had travelled away

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[3]All Africa Churches Conference, Africa In Transition - The Challenge and the Christian Response, Department of Church and Society Division of Studies, World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1962), p. 44.

[4]Kraybill, (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 164.

[5]Ibid., p. 197.

from home knew some Swahili. They expected to be hired in charge of the workmen. As time passed by, the lucky ones were selected to be missionary cooks. They cooked food for Missionaries, washed and ironed their clothes, kept missionaries houses clean, and polished their shoes.

Those Africans who had been in contact with some other Missions, had known that Missions ran schools for their converts.[6] Thus, within the shortest time of the Mission existence at Shirati, people came pressing for schooling -- everywhere a cry went up, "We want school", and across Africa the Christian Mission heard the cry, and the colonial governments heard the cry, they built schools.[7] Similarily, the Africans had heard of some Missions that dispensed medicine and cured diseases. Now there was a Mission nearby. All diseases that the witch doctors and the juju could not heal, were taken to the Missionary doctor to try to cure them. They dashed to the door of the missionary doctor to get tablets for fever and malaria. Those who were barren went to the missionary doctor to be treated. There was a common saying- "If you want to have children, go to the Mission".[8] In fact, many Africans who became followers of the Mission got large families.

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[6]Edmund Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, p. 60.

[7]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 68.

[8]Kraybill, (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 165.

By going to the Mission, people found themselves getting numerous blessings. They got work and employment that guaranteed monthly incomes. The money enabled them to buy clothes, shoes, kitchen utensils, and bicycles.[9] Besides, they went to the Mission in order to go to school. They got knowledge in history, geography, arithmetic, and hygiene. They learned Swahili that has become a lingua Franca of East Africa. They could therefore travel to distant places away from home, but still they felt to be at home because of the language. From the Mission they got treatment, and the mortality rate in children was reduced.[10]

As the purpose of the Mission was to preach the gospel in-order to save souls of "the pagan people", it used every available and conceivable opportunity to convert the heathen people.[11] They preached to those who came to work on the Mission station every morning. They preached to those who came to get medicine, beside regular church services on Sundays and prayer meetings on Wednesdays. The Africans got their physical needs met, meanwhile, the Missionaries were convinced that they were sowing the seeds of the gospel.

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[9]Edmund Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, p. 90.

[10]Susan Wood, Kenya: The Tensions of Progress, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1960), p. 2.

[11]Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, pp. 63, 76.

The Missionaries preached on the love of God and His redemptive solution for man's need.[12] They told the story of Jesus, how he came, healing all sorts of afflictions, feeding the hungry, and satisfying the thirsty ones. The Missionary messages were appealing to the Africans. It was more appealing to hear of the resurrection of the dead. Missionaries preached of the joys and happiness that are found in Jesus Christ. They told the Africans how oppressing sinful life was. It was sad, gloomy and unhappy. The Missionaries associated tribal customs, sacrifices, ceremonies and polygamy with sin. They were against circumcision, extraction of the six lower teeth by the Luo tribe, sharpening of the upper teeth by the Zanaki people, and making large holes in ears by the Kuryas. According to the Mennonite teachings, such customs were the sources of unhappiness, hence they were sinful.[13] The believers were supposed to give up such customs. The Africans listened very attentively and many of them believed, because they thought such things to be automatic, and that the end of the world would come in their life time. They discarded African customs and traditions as sinful. "These tribal practices, taboos, and traditions of the

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[12]Wade T. Coggins, So That's What Missions is All About, Moody Press: Chicago, 1975), p. 11

[13]Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, p. 64.

ancestors bind those who do not have the true Gospel of Jesus Christ.[14]

However, it is the opinion of the author that the African customs and traditions were regarded as grave sins because they confronted the Western culture and ways of life. They wanted to eliminate any elements of the African culture which they held to be pagan and incompatible with Western Christian ideals. "Indolence, polygamy, fetishism and dancing as well are labelled as immoral."[15]

Writing on the social evils among the Africans, Chapman noted:

> One of the greatest social and moral evils among the Africans is polygamy. Widows are inherited. It is not uncommon thing to find an old gray-haired man with half-score of wives, yet still choosing, bidding for and securing without the women's consent, young girl of the tribe.[16]

The Mission came preaching that Jesus could set the followers from the bondage of sin, tribal customs, and polygamy, the Africans accepted their teachings in order to be set free, not only from a spiritual view point, but also to be set free from illnesses, poverty and ignorance. The African, for many years had been

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[14]Kraybill (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 162.

[15]Melady, The White Man's Future in Black Africa, (A MacFadden Book: New York, 1962), p. 48.

[16]Louise R. Chapman, The Problem of Africa, (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City: Misouri, 1952), p. 19

oppressed of taboos, customs and tribal traditions. They were now anxious to change for better, and if that was the cost of change, they were ready to pay for it. Some believed the message of the Missionaries, and in September 1935, the first group was baptized at Shirati. These Africans were told that they had become new creatures, for the ancient had passed, behold, all was new. They took new names from the Bible. They had been born, not of the flesh, but of the spirit of God.[17] They had received the power that freed them from principalities of darkness to overcome fear, superstition, and the power to take up the serpent without being hurt.[18]

> The good news of Christ victory over the snake travelled throughout the Christian Community, and increasingly the gospel was seen as the way to destroy spirit power. Slowly, the burning of the fetishes, became a part of conversion acts of renunciation of things past.[19]

This was not only spiritual power, but indeed it was a process of social change. Since the Africans were eager to modernize themselves, they were willing and ready to give up such things as customs in the name of Jesus. To be sure, they were not ready to live as poor, as ignorant and as illiterate as they had lived

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[17]John 3:6

[18]Mark 16: 15-18

[19]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 45.

before. Soon after baptism, the local church council was established through which the African church leadership had begun. Through this church council, evangelism in the remote areas of the countryside began. The Africans went out of the Mission station as evangelists, bush school teachers, church elders and lay preachers. "Christianity shed its warm rays to the remotest village".[20] It was through these bush school places which became centers of education and evangelism in the remote villages that were the beginning of social change, modernization and new life in Mara Region of Tanzania.[21]

II. "BEHOLD WE HAVE FORSAKEN ALL, AND FOLLOWED THEE: WHAT SHALL WE HAVE THEREFORE?"[22]

To the Africans, there were certain sections of the Bible which were more appealing to them than others. One of such was Genesis 12: 1-3, where God called Abraham and said:

> Get thee out of thy Country, and from thy Kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I shall shew thee -- I will bless thee -- make thy name great -- thou shalt be a blessing:

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[20] Zimmerman and Leatherman, Africa Calls, p. 133.

[21] Ibid., p. 137.

[22] Mark:10-19.

> --I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee, and in thee all families of the earth be blessed.[23]

They, like Abraham, had been called to become believers. They gave up their old ways of living. They gave up their tribal customs, traditions and social evils. Many of them moved away from their fathers' Villages to live on or near the Mission Station. They did so in order to cut themselves away from the sources of tribal life and unchristian customs. In addition to that, they did so in order to facilitate changes much faster. From there, God called them to become his witnesses in the remotest areas of the Country side. They taught schools, evangelized the local areas, and preached on Sundays, taught catechism classes on Saturdays and led prayer meetings on Wednesday afternoons. However, they found themselves in desperate condition. They were not being paid, or they were hardly paid at all. That made the church men to evaluate and examine the nature of the church work. Dr. Eshleman, a former Missionary to Tanzania wrote:

> "The Missionary was in his office writing when one of the church elders came to his door and asked for permission

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[23] Genesis 12: 1-3

> to speak to him. There was not usual joy on the African brother's face -- there was evidence of a spirit of defeat as he poured out his story. He had been trying hard to make ends meet financially and was not succeeding. He had given years to teaching in the Mission school at low wages, -- had given considerable time to travelling about among the out schools -- had not been able to cultivate his garden -- was not able to buy proper clothes for his wife and children. He had been living under this handicap for years, and began to feel that he should seek some other kind of work.[24]

This is a typical example signifying that the Africans notion of accepting Christianity and church work was indeed, to enable them to better their lot. The evangelists, bush school teachers, and church elders compared themselves with their contemporary workers in the same Mission. Those who worked as cooks and servants for the Missionaries were assured of constant monthly pay. It was much more reasonable pay compared to one that was paid to the church workers. Some who worked in dispensaries at the hospitals were paid constantly and reasonably. There were other people who had come to the Mission station to learn new skills. Some became carpenters, masons, lorry drivers and mechanics.[25] These also received constant pay regularly.

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[24] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 141.

[25] Ibid., p. 90.

Through the knowledge that some people acquired from the Mission, they started their own business such as butcher shops, selling bicycles, clothes, and running restaurants. They did well financially. However, the church workers, who were involved in its growth and expansion, unfortunately were leading a hand to mouth life. The African church workers did not understand why they could not be paid by the Mission. It was the gospel that had brought the Mission to Mara Region. To the African reasoning, people involved in the propagation of the very faith should have been the ones to share the lion's share of the Mission's money, but it was not so. The Mission had come to implant the faith and to build a strong church through a policy of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing.[26]

The people who lived near the Mission stations and worked on their own were fairing well. Markets were developed and restaurants run. They began living on money economy. Commercial settlements began growing around the Mission Stations.

> The entire area around the Mission is now well populated, and the African villages are crowded right up to the compound border on several sides. The people have come for work, for school, for medicine

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[27] Ibid., p. 83.

and for the gospel.[27]

Therefore, there is no doubt that the Africans saw the Mission as an instrument for social change. It was an instrument for change and development because the Mission came with a concern to change the way of living of the people. They came advocating better living - freedom from sin, fear, superstition, witch doctors, fetishes and evil spirits. The Africans accepted the teaching, and went a step further whereby illiteracy and poverty were regarded as part of that bondage in which they lived. Since the Missionaries introduced the revolutionary idea of the brotherhood of man and the equality of God,[28] the Africans thought that in the process of spiritual change, they would be treated like Missionaries. However, the Missionaries were quite unwilling to share the Mission purse. To the Missionaries, they had done their share to have shared the gospel with the Africans, but not the money. The brotherhood was preached at the pulpit, in the church building. When the service was over, each race went to the place where it belonged. The Africans were supposed to till the soil in order to earn a living, besides their teaching and evangelistic duties.

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[27] Ibid., p. 83.

[28] Melady, The White Man's Future In Africa, p. 11.

The church leaders saw the Missionaries doing very well. They dressed well. They had cars, and good houses. They had servants to work for them, but they would not let a single penny from America be involved in advancing the African church.

> "For twenty years Missionaries had pursed their lips with no comment" finality whenever Africans asked what their salary was. No Mission financial records were ever shared with Africans. No American money ever went directly or indirectly into Tanganyika church Treasures. Leaders wages, conspiration of church buildings, song books and supplies - everything relating to the African church had to be paid by the local church.[29]

The Africans asked themselves, "If the church was the focus of the Mission enterprise, why was the mud-brick church building the most drab, old-fashioned structure on each station compound? Why could there not be concrete floors in the churches? Why were American funds available for compound workers, or anyone employed for the missionary institutional benefit, buy not for church workers. Church leaders were the most underpaid persons in the entire Mission program.[30] The Africans began to wonder what were the advantages of believing, becoming church workers, evangelists and school teachers? The disciples of Jesus asked him a question, "Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee, what shall we get?"[31]

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[29]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 109.

[30]Ibid., p. 110

[31]Mark 10

Jesus had promised his disciples and those who had forsaken all for the sake of following him, to receive a hundred fold in this life, and an everlasting life in the world to come. The Africans had thought on those lines. They had patiently and willingly worked for the church for several years, but there was no sign that there would be any hope; instead, hope was diminishing. Some thought of giving up their call of propagating the gospel, since to them that had not proven to be a means of social change and development; and some gave up. They thought that the blessings promised to Abraham were not applicable to them. God's promises to Abraham were fulfilled. His genealogy was as numerous as the stars of heaven. His animals multiplied. Why should not these promises apply to these Africans? The missionaries were thought to be the barriers to such blessings, for when the Africans demanded reasonable pay, the missionaries told them to be satisfied with Jesus, who quenched every hungry and thirsty soul.

> At Shirati Church Council meeting in the early 1940s the Missionaries were perturbed when the African elders announced that they would refuse to talk about any church problems until the biggest problem of all -- wages for leaders was resolved.[32]

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[32] Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 53.

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The Africans wanted their needs met. They wanted constant and reasonable wages, better treatment and regard. They wanted an education, if not for themselves, at least for their children. However, the Missionaries were adamantly opposed to these demands. Instead of listening to these problems and trying to solve them, the Missionaries used the Bible to silence them.

> The Missionaries laid it on the line, explaining in straight forward terms that such ideas were unscriptural and against indigeneous principles -- The Missionaries felt that African brothern were at fault for wasting an entire Church Council meeting on money matters making it impossible to discuss more pertinent issues.[33]

To the Missionaries, the pertinent issues were tribal customs, evil spirits, and polygamy. However, to the Africans, such were not pertinent issues at all. To them, the real issue was, "What shall we get since we have forsaken all to become believers, bush school teachers, church elders, leaders and evangelists?" Jesus had an answer to his disciples, "Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed the son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging twelve tribes of Israel". But he did not end there. He further said ---"every one that hath forsaken all for my name's sake, shall receive an

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[33] Ibid., p. 54

hundred-fold in this life, and shall inherit everlasting life in the world to come".[34]

Could these African believers sit in the thrones with Jesus from their poverty-stricken conditions, with their illiteracy, and from leading a hand to mouth life, without a transitional period? Abraham was blessed, not only with spiritual blessings, but indeed also with tangible and material blessings. The Africans wondered why could not the blessings that applied to the patriachs be applied to them as well. To them, receiving a hundred fold included getting an education, a good job, and a steady income. These were pertinent issues to the African churchmen. That is why they refused to talk of any issues until the biggest of all the problems had been solved.

> "The situation was a critical one and we spent considerable time in prayer, asking the Lord's guidance and his undertaking in the matter. We attribute all credit to Him that by the next day they had relented in their demands, and were willing, after much discussion, to adopt the tithe as a systematic method of contributing for support of local church and school work.[35]

Although the Africans relented in their demands at that time, this did not mean that they had given them up completely. They had let their interests be known to the Missionaries and wanted to use the mission as a means to social change, and modernization. This

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[34] Mark 10: 29,30

[35] Missionary Messenger, Vol. XVIII, Feb. 8, 1942, p. 12.

notion to use the mission as a means to modernize and progress remained the back-bone of contention between the mission and the African church, almost from the time the mission started, to the time when the mission changed into Tanganyika Mennonite Church.

Realizing the African grievances, a missionary wrote saying,

> It brings into view the problem which is involved in arriving at a clear idea of the ultimate relationship of the native and the foreign mission -- This certainly marks the crucial point in our application of indigenous method and, for obvious reasons, we contemplate the prospect with no little degree of apprehension.[36]

It was not so easy for the Missionaries to respond to the African's demands and burning issues convincingly. Many Africans became disappointed and reverted to their old ways.

By 1941 and 1942, the church membership had increased to nearly 300, but there was not the evidence of spiritual growth that was expected. Too many who had been baptized fell back into sin, and were excommunicated. There were difficulties arising with the church council on matters of school, money from America, and wages.[37] Those excommunications were triggered needlessly and unredemptively.[38] Something was needed to save the mission or else, it could have become stagnant and crumble.

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 53

[38] Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 53

III. ACTIVITIES OF OTHER MISSIONS IN EAST AFRICA AND THE REVIVAL MOVEMENTS.

The Mennonite Mission was located on the Eastern side of Lake Victoria, in Musoma District, which is called Mara Region today. In the District there were the Seventh Day Adventists who had started mission work in Majita Chiefdom. At the beginning of this century it had established Ikizu Teacher Training School, and its first graduates came out early in 1930s. It had also built primary schools throughout Majita Chiefdom. Their members were not only active but they were also aggressive lay evangelists. Their students from Ikizu Teacher Training included girls. When going on vacation on a lorry, they sang very penetrating Christian songs. By the late 1930s and early 1940s they had already ordained African pastors.

Across the Lake, on the Eastern side, there were two protestant missions in Bukoba District. The Lutheran Mission had built Kigarama Teacher Training College, whereby they trained their certified teachers. They had also built numerous primary schools throughout the District. They had ordained African pastors who ran the church side by side with the Missionaries. In the same District there was Church Missionary Society that had established Katoke Teacher Training Center, whereby their converts were being educated. They had trained and ordained African pastors. They

had even a Secondary School in Dodoma. The Lutherans had other Teacher Training Schools, at Kinampanda, in Singida; and another one at Marangu, in Moshi. The Moravian Mission had a Teacher Training College at Rungwe, in Tukuyu.[39] There were similar mission activities and efforts in Kenya and Uganda run by the Protestant Missions.

The Mennonite Mission, of course, started late compared to the other Missionary societies mentioned above. But what hurt the Africans was that they had no intention nor direction toward meeting such demands. They did not want to plunge themselves into institutional mission - that is, to operate big schools or considerable medical work. Furthermore, they prevented the African parents from sending their children to Local Authority or other Mission Schools. Because to the Missionaries this meant conformity to the world. They assumed that the Mennonite believers would be contaminated by Non-Mennonite Christians or unchristians. The African Christian parents demanded that if that was the case, then the Missionaries should allow American money to come in the church so that African Mennonite Christians could get Christian education of considerable achievement. The Missionaries vowed that that could

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[39] Ada M. Zimmerman and Catherine Leatherman: Africa Calls: Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, (1936) pp. 84, 85.

not be allowed. For that was contrary to the indigenous principles of establishing a strong African Church of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing. Some Missionaries threatened to pack up their mattresses and leave the mission field rather than see American money involved to educate African Christians. John Leatherman, the Mennonite-theologian missionary had already written home, saying:

> "We are organizing a Teacher Training School to be conducted along strictly evangelical lines, having as its objective the equipping of native men for an active gospel ministry among their own people."[40]

To the Africans, there was every reason, therefore to cause an atmosphere of tension between Missionaries and Africans. They thought and concluded that Missionaries were bringing discrimination into the Christian brotherhood and fellowship.[41] Some saw no reason to continue as church workers -- they decided to leave the mission.

From the very beginning the African church workers - bush school teachers, evangelists and church elders, believed that the work of the church was to be done in partnership and co-operation

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[40] David W. Shenk, Mennonite Safari: (Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 36.

[41] Melady, The White Man's Future in Africa, p. 53.

between them and Missionaries. In order to be efficient leaders they thought that exposure to a considerable amount of education was necessary. They wanted to match with the Seventh Day Adventist teachers and Pastors, who were strong neighbors. They wanted to speak English like any other educated church workers from other missions. They believed that some leaders are born, but that others are made. "Education maketh man", they emphasized. In the African minds, the Missionaries ignored the fact that the church was a teaching community, not only in the realm of spiritual matters, but also it must teach and educate the physique and mind. The whole body is the temple of the Holy Spirit and not only the soul.[42] Africans, from their inner analysis of the church, believed that a strong committed church, a mission church, and a concerned church, was found not among the illiterate, not among the poverty stricken, but it was found among the people who had made Christianity their way of life, practically and experiencially. Such people had a desire to share their faith with others, and were ready to defend it; for to lose it was to lose their cultural values. That was why the issue of education was crucial from almost the inception of the mission until the time of its church's autonomy, and still it is an issue to this day.

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[42] I Corinthians 3:16

Ramm, writing on the purpose of Christian evidence asserts that:

> The Christian is established in his faith not only experiencially but intellectually and factually. He sees the Christian religion not only as that which gives him a blessed experience of salvation and assurance within his heart, but also as a system of universal and factual in its purpose. He sees it in its cosmic, historic and factual breadth. His personal experience is thus related to a universal and valid system of religion.[43]

By neglecting this aspect of church growth and leadership, the Mennonite Mission put what later became Tanganyika Mennonite Church, in a posture of uncertainty and dormance. The church had potential to grow and expand, but the beginning and approach was startling; that caused the African people who could have been potential and dynamic leaders, to be less potential and less effective. "These first Missionaries copied many colonial practices which they found here. One such practice was a lack of respect for Africans, others had to do with African wages, houses, and African life in general".[44]

Some Missionaries saw no reason why they should take pains to educate Africans who had never, on their own initiative, made almost no progress.[45] They believed in the myth that Africans were decendants of Ham, son of Noah, who was cursed by his father. They

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[43]Bernard Ramm, Protestant Christian Evidences: (Moody Press: Chicago, 1953), p. 14.

[44]Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 165.

[45]Eshleman. African Answers: p. 40.

imagined that Africans backwardness was therefore associated with that curse. They said that Africans had been content to live under the same conditions that their ancestors had lived under for centuries. With that kind of mentality, therefore, it was not surprising to see that they were very unwilling to have an institutional church. To the Missionaries, the 3Rs were enough to the cursed people, provided they could read the Bible and evangelize their heathen brothers. Their early writings are full of expressions such as "These savages, these heathens or these pagans". With that kind of mentality they had no intention of helping Africans to get to the plane that they longed for, namely, social change and modernization.

Eshleman, writing on African ways and life, asserted that position:

> "We must not forget, as we teach them and heal their bodies, that the primary purpose of our coming to them is to bring the gospel message which will deliver them from their sins and darkness and give them stability as the advantages of civilization come to them.[46]

It is surprising that Mennonites who believed in nonviolence and non-conformity to the world could have been very violent and rude in describing the African peoples. Their writings sound as

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[46] Ibid., p. 41.

if they were missionaries sent by The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, which believes that the African race was created to be slaves to the white race - cutters of wood and drawers of water.

There were bitterness and disappointment between missionaries and Africans. Some missionaries could see the African grievances and were sympathetic with them. They were ready to alleviate the grievances. However, that caused a rift among the missionaries, for some were not ready to listen at all. There were also those Africans who were too close to the missionaries. They also condemned the other Africans for complaining too much about wages. These were those who worked for missionaries as cooks and those who worked in the hospitals, and had a constant income. So there was a rift among the Africans too. Had it not been for the grace of God, the mission would have collapsed and its growth could have been hampered or affected greatly.

Writing on the difficulties that arose between and among both Africans and Missionaries, Kisare noted:

> "Finally, with many tears we pleaded to God and Jesus saved the Church which was like a little boat on the water, tossed about by the very strong waves. Without this help, I do not know what we would have done in our little young church.[47]

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[47] Kraybill (Editor), Called to be Sent, p. 166.

During the atmostphere of fear, distrust and uncertainty, God was preparing to heal his church. Hosea the prophet says: "When I would have healed Israel, then the iniquity of Ephraim was discovered, and the wickedness of Samaria; for they commit falsehood...[48]

In 1942, starting with Mugango Mission station, revival was introduced in the Mennonite Mission by an African evangelist from the Africa Inland Mission in Ukerewe. During her simple presentation from the Bible, fire of conviction swept the church at Mugango, starting with the African church elder. From Mugango they went to Majita and there too people were touched by the power of Holy Spirit and were convicted of their sins. Then in August 1942, people at Shirati were also convicted of their defective Christian life. They repented of their sins.

> When the congregation learned that the Lord refused communion, the fire of God swept through the group. Scores of people spontaneously cried out in anquish repenting of their sins. The noise of weeping filled the building, possibly like the rushing might wind at pentecost.[49]

There were confessions of hidden sins and unworthiness, and there were expressions of willingness to follow the Lord. There was now openness and frankness. During this time most of the African

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[48] Hosea 7:1

[49] Shenk, Mennonite Safari: pp. 54-55.

Church elders, bush school teachers and Church leaders were all touched, and their lives were changed. They became more ardent and dynamic witnesses for Christ. Teams of evangelism were organized to take the gospel to many different and remote areas of the District. For a time there was more understanding between Africans and Missionaries.

> "As the light of the gospel reaches every phase of life and as Christ become more precious, changes take place in the life of the one who may have been a nominal Christian for years...Brethren who felt that Missionaries should give them more money or be more free with gifts have confessed their sins and are now living in victory on these matters. Some who had wanted a job bringing in lots of shillings are now happy to work for the Lord with little financial income. Tribal and racial barriers have been broken down and spiritual fellowship established...[50]

In Mugango - Majita area, the church was again touched by the death of Ray Wenger, who died in June 1945. Missionaries had expected that the death of their fellow missionary would adversely affect the Church in that area. They did not expect that the African Church leaders could stand on their own. But contrary to their expectations, the Church was very much touched spiritually by the death of their beloved leader, though a missionary. It did not only stand firm on the rock, but it increased in number, being strengthened spiritually for more than a year without missionary leadership.[51]

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[50] Eshleman, Africa Answers: p. 82.

[51] Shenk, Mennonite Safari: p. 85

This was so because Ray Wenger was one of the liberal missionaries. He was interested in the advancement of the Africans. He was ardent as a missionary bishop and visited people in villages and in their homes. Before he died, he had planned to open Standard V on Mugango Station. Though he died in June, Standard V was opened at Mugango in September of the same year - 1945. This was the first Standard V to be offered in the Mennonite Mission.

In 1947, there came other evangelists from the Church Missionary Society from Bukoba and Ngara Districts. These preachers came singing and praising song "Glory, Glory, Jesus Saves me." This became a chorus among the "Saved" people all over East Africa. They came preaching the gospel of humbleness and brotherhood. They emphasized the work that Jesus did on the cross at calvary. They emphasized fellowships among the saved ones, and to walk in the light.[52] Every saved person was happy, and singing and leading a victorious life.

There were a number of reasons why revival was welcomed by Missionaries.[53] In the first place, they had come to establish a lively and ardent Christian Church. They had come to save the souls of the pagans who had lived a sinful life. Secondly, they

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[52] I John 1:6-7.

[53] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 93.

invited revival because it silenced the Africans. Revival calmed and quenched the African's hunger for money and a thirst for an education. Revival temporarily solved the problem of wages for African Church workers. Thirdly, they welcomed revival because they used it as they had used the Bible, to surpress the Africans' complaints and grievances. Almost in every complaint the Africans had, they had been told to be satisfied with Jesus who quenched every desire, hunger or thirst for worldly and material things. Fourthly, revival gave Missionaries access to African private lives.[54] During confessions which were public, Africans confessed it all plainly. During revival weeks in America, people can just say that they have been revived spiritually. In Africa that was not enough. One had to mention what his or her sins were. By doing so, Missionaries were interested to hear of the African's confessions. Even in fellowships, Missionaries in many cases had nothing to witness. They sometimes went there to listen to the African's confessions. They used revival as a means of breaking the African's neck. They used the Bible quotations to surpress the African's arguments and feelings. When the Africans confessed of giving up their stiff-neckedness, worldliness, and they claimed that Jesus was sufficient,

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[54] Ibid., p. 94.

they both sang "Glory, Glory, Jesus saves me". The Missionaries sang, claiming victory and the Africans claiming defeat. Very often in disputes or arguments, the Missionaries quoted the Bible so extensively in order to justify their stand. The Africans gave in repenting the worldliness and carnal desires. They could sing praising the Lord, the Missionaries praising victory and the Africans admitting defeat.

On the other hand, Africans welcomed revival for several motives. In the first place, they wanted to put themselves in the right position with God. Secondly, some tried to find a way of being accepted as true believers. Church leaders wanted to be accepted by Missionaries that they had been saved. Ordinary Christians wanted an acceptance by the Church leaders that they were sincere and saved. Some used revival to tell the Missionaries in a way that would not annoy them.[55] They confessed how they hated Missionaries because they were not ready to share financially with Church workers; although their aim was to preach the gospel. To some, revival was a way of boasting how sinful they were, especially where it involved adultery.

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[55] Ibid. p. 93.

But on the whole, revival in East Africa, touched people of every walk of life. Some were Civil servants, teachers, medical workers, who had nothing to do with mission enterprises. It brought unity between Missionaries and the Africans. It also brought sympathy and understanding between the two races.

IV. HISTORICAL FORCES THAT SHAPED THE MENNONITE MISSION:

(a) END OF WORLD WAR II AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT POLICY ON EXPANDING EDUCATION

World War II started in Europe, in September 1939. Since Tanganyika was under the British Government as a Mandate, Tanganyikans were recruited as soldiers - (Kings African Riffles) in order to go to fight for the crown. People were recruited from villages, cities and even from mission schools. The Mennonite believers were not exempted from being recruited. Some of them joined the war on their own accord, although the bishop had already advanced information to the government that denomination members were non-violent and conscientious objectors. They joined the war because it offered them a chance to travel to foreign countries where they could not have gone otherwise. Some people from Musoma District went to the Far East, the Middle East, India, Ceylon and Burma. Some went to places like Italy, France, Morocco and Libya.[56] They fought war

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[56] J. E. Ade Ajayi (Editor), A Thousand Years in West African History: Humanities Press: New York, 1972).

side by side with many people of different nationalities and races. As soldiers, they all stood in queues waiting for orders from their superiors, or waiting to get their food rations. This was something noticeable to them because they never saw such a thing before in Tanganyika where Africans, Europeans, and Asians would stand on the same line to be served. They found out that there were soldiers of even European races who were illiterates and laborers. They found out for the first time that many people of the world were poor like them also. They ate and slept in the same camp or tent. In the war they saw Europeans killing or being killed. They realized for the first time that Europeans, like any other race, were typical mortal human beings; though they had an advanced technology. Commenting on the role of the service men after World War II, Ajayi said:

> "Perhaps the most important contribution of the servicemen was to help to destroy the myth of white superiority, carefully fostered by the insulation of Europeans from too much contact with Africans in the "reservation" system.[57]

One might need to ask why African Mennonite believers should have gone to war despite the teaching of the mission on non-violence, and non-conformity. The simple answer is that those who

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[57] Ibid.,p. 46

joined the war had lost hope in the mission. Their expectations in education and employment or economy had not been met. So they joined the war in order to get higher wages and to learn new skills or trades. After the war some came back home as medical workers, lorry drivers or technicians of some kind. Furthermore, they had acquired new ideas from abroad.

Speaking of the servicemen, Dorothy Smoker and Merle Eshleman wrote:

> "...men who were drafted during the War and taken to Burman, Egypt, Palestine, and Europe, brought back stories of the world that have given great impetus to change.[58]

Since the colonial Government did not meet the expectations they had developed while in the war, the soldiers were disappointed. Some of them started opening retail stores in their own villages. Others started better farming. Those who had political inclinations started propaganda against the colonial governments. This was the beginning of politics, not only in Tanganyika, but all over Africa. The war stimulated social and economic consequences enormously, and they in turn, stimulated the development of national feelings.[59]

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[58] Kraybill, (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 9.

[59] Ajayi (Editor) A Thousand Years in West Africa: p. 399.

People all over Tanganyika, as elsewhere in Africa demanded two things above all: more education and self-government.[60] Peasants hated the colonial government because of too much taxation on their heads of cattle, and an increase on poll or hut taxes. These, together with pressures from the United Nations, under which then the British colonial Government administered Tanganyika after the war, forced things to change.

> "Tanganyika which was a British mandate after World War I, came under the watchful and helpful eye of the United Nations Trusteeship Council after World War II. Within a few years, after an inspection team had reported that living conditions were too low, all teacher's wages were trippled, with payment in areas.[61]

The African Mennonite Mission believers were not untouched by such changes. It was no accident that the African Church leaders raised up the question of education once more.

> "Meanwhile, the Africans and the government forced the mission to re-evaluate its native education program. This came about as the demand for more secular education continued and the government announced in 1944 that it would provide mass education for all Tanganyikans. The mission had then to decide, whether to expand its educational commitment to meet government requirements or withdraw from education entirely.[62]

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[60] Ibid., p. 399

[61] Kraybill (Editor) God Led Us To Tanganyika. p. 5.

[62] George Ronald Anchak, A History of Eastern Mennonite Mission in Tanganyika, 1934-1961: Dissertation - Ph.D., p. 138.

Missionaries had been caught in a dilemma. They had stated in categorical terms that their intention was to evangelize, and not build an institutional church. They had clearly told the African brotherhood that they wanted to establish a self-supporting, self-propagating and a self-governing Church. They had no intention of bringing in American church money to educate Africans. They did not like government money because it would bring in government interference and control in the mission. They did not have any single African certified teacher who could teach. Bringing in some Christian teachers into their mission had not occurred to them. After all to them true Christianity was non-conformity and isolation from worldliness. However, to give up education altogether would mean the end of their missionary zeal and intention. That could mean that even their 3Rs classes they had started on the mission stations could be surrendered. Their bush schools, which also were evangelical points, apart from the mission stations would also be given up. Worse still, these places could be taken up either by the government or by the Roman Catholics or Seventh Day Adventists. They had no alternative but to comply to the pressures of the African brotherhood and also to obey the Government order. In 1944, the mission took several steps to expand its educational program. Standard three classes were introduced at Mugango station, Shirati, and Mrangi out station, in Majita. Furthermore, the mission obeyed government orders and admitted all students into its

schools regardless of religious affiliations. The government African Supervisor had to inspect their schools on the mission stations and even their out-station schools. In September 1945, Rhoda Wenger taught standard V at Mugango. Education then had become a must to the mission.

Complaining on this issue, Stauffer wrote to the Bishop Board in America:

> "Education here seems to be something one cannot well do without any mission work and do not just know how to handle when one takes it up because of governmental control and attempts at dictation but always with the nice covering of cooperation or helping missions.[63]

In September 1946, the mission got two certified teachers from the Church Missionary Society. These were Elisha Ruzika and Isaac Luteutilwa. In January 1947, the mission sent two students to Katoke Teacher training School. They were Samwil Ngogo Nyandoro and Michael Maregesi Muganda. In January 1948, they sent three people to Katoke Teacher Training School. These were Nathaniel Waryoba Tingayi, Aseto Aroka, and Josiah Kaneja Muganda.

In January 1948, Bumangi District School was built by Africans from all the Mennonite Mission Stations. This was a Boy's Boarding School. In 1950, the mission sent five students

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[63] Ibid., p. 140.

to Katoke Teacher Training School, namely, Phinehas Nyangoro, Thomas Migire, Shemaya Magati and Raphael Mebeba. In the meantime, John Migire was the first student to go to Bwiru Government Secondary School, and Bernard Kaneja Muganda was the first to go to Alliance Secondary School, Dodoma, run by Church Missionary Society and Moravian mission.

In July 1947, during the annual mission conference at Bukiroba, the major issue was the financing of the new educational program. The Africans had already told the mission that either the mission had to accept government money since it was a return to them of their paid taxes, or else money had to come from America to finance education. Rather than get money from America, the mission accepted grant in aid from the government.[64]

When Orie Miller, Secretary of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities was informed of this decision, he was surprised. However, the Missionaries told him:

> "...the change in attitude resulted from the recommendation which the legislative body made to the mission on February 20, 1947; that an elementary education was essential for christian growth, and that it was therefore the duty of the mission to provide education. Since the Government was part of the indigenous environment, the legislative body saw nothing wrong with accepting government money.[65]

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[64] Ibid., p. 141.

[65] Ibid., p. 142

Of course, the mission had been pressured by the African Church leaders from early 1940s. They had resisted such pressures for too long. Revival had also touched them. They were also trying to examine the weight of these demands from the church and from the government authority sympathetically. In order to be effective witnesses of the gospel they had to accept this kind of secularization, or quit mission work. Revival of 1946 by gospel teams from Uganda and Rwanda made lives to be touched a new. They preached the gospel of humbleness at Calvary and the brokenness of spirit. These were educated people and preached against white superiority, pride and greediness. They emphasized that at the cross there was no white or black, educated or illiterate, Missionary or Africans, pastors or laymen needed revival from sinfulness. This kind of gospel touched not only the "sinful" Africans but also the "righteous" Missionaries. There was a new relationship between Missionaries and Africans.

> "...the new fellowship begun then greatly improved relations between Missionaries and Africans. We were learning together the meaning of walking in unbroken fellowship with God and with our fellow men. Witness has become more spontaneous and joyous. There is peace and much testimony...there is more unity and mutual confidence among us now than ever before.[66]

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[66]Kraybill (Editor), God Led Us To Tanganyika: Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities; (Publisher Salunga, Pennsylvania, 1956), p. 34.

(b) ECONOMIC AWAKENING AND COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The African believers viewed Christianity as the foundation of progress. The light of the gospel brought a general awakening to modern life, not only in the Mennonite Mission, but everywhere in Tanganyika. Believers who repented of their sins and discarded their tribal customs and values, could not have spared ignorance and illiteracy, sickness and poverty. They viewed these as part and parcel of the bondage of sin, superstition, fear, evil spirits and the rest of it.[67] That is why when the mission accepted to run schools and medical work as institutions, the membership of the believers grew by leaps and bounds. The growth was also partly attributed to revival and evangelistic teams which began to move in the Countryside, in the remote villages, preaching of the power of Jesus who changed lives. These witnesses were happy, joyful healthy and clean and better dressed. Their testimonies that Jesus changed lives were very much penetrating as well as appealing to the listener's heart. In any way, therefore, the listeners were convinced that the Christian message made sense to them. Conversion was first step to both spiritual as well as physical well-being and material gains.

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[67] Africa In Transition - The Challenge and the Christian Response. Published by All Africa Churches Conference in collaboration with the Department of Church and Society, Division of Studies World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1952.

This was a period of great social change. Schools were increasing in number and schools fees were demanded. Christian parents believed in this power of education. They had cried for it for so long. It was therefore their obligation to see that their children should not miss the opportunity that had by-passed them. They regarded themselves as responsible Christian parents. They had to explore ways and means of getting not only fees for their children, but also school uniforms and books. Those who went to boarding schools needed some money for expenditures. Money economy was being introduced in Musoma and North Mara Districts.

> "Just two or three generations ago, no one needed money. The people were living in a fairly well organized, self-sustaining tribal economy, with no taxes to pay. They were able to barter with other tribes for the goods they needed but could not produce. Now money is a very important item, and is flowing into the mission area rapidly in a number of ways.[68]

Sisal fibre for rope became a great demand for a time. High prices were paid to buy it. Some fishermen along the lake dried or smoked fish, then transported them to areas where prices were high. They boiled the cream down and sold the clarified butter or ghee in tins. In Majita land as elsewhere in the South-Eastern part of the

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[68] Ibid., p. 5.

lake, people grew cotton that they sold and got money. They sold their crops to the Indian merchants and traders. However, since most of the people were illiterates, they got very little out of their sweat. The Indian middlemen benefitted the most. There was naked exploitation. People did not know how to read nor write. They could not therefore know how much their crops weighed. In most of the cases one quarter to one third of the rights were cut off by the Indian merchants. Secondly, prices were not permanent. They fluctuated very frequently; according to the wishes of the managers of ginneries. These issues were known to the colonial authorities. They tried to send agricultural instructors to help the people, but of course, they were bought by the Indian ginnery managers,[69] for they were also hungry. Peasants bought their own scales in order to weigh their loads before they took them to the selling places. But this stage could not help much. On the Indian scales, loads got less. When the owners of the loads of cotton complained, they were pushed away with their cotton loads. Rather than go back with cotton loads, the owners decided to get what they were given.

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[69] Interview with H. E. Ambassador Paul Bomani, Embassy of Tanzania, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1977.

There was a need for an organized leadership to help these peasants against naked exploitation and rudiness by the Indians. In 1948, Mr. Paul Bomani started cooperative societies all over the South-Eastern region of Lake Victoria, in the areas where cotton was a prominent cash crop. He mobilized all the peasants in primary societies whereby they sent their cotton loads to sell. The cooperative societies standardized prices. After selling and getting money on the spot, peasants waited for another money.

> "Large sums of money have come into our district for the cotton crop which has raised considerably the economy of our southern area, Majita.[70]

The new money meant sending children to school, better housing, better clothes, better food and some boods. But the Mennonite Mission was against this move of cooperative movement of primary societies. The societies were a unifying force to the Africans. They had to rally behind the cooperative leadership by taking their cotton loads to the primary societies to sell them there and not go to the Indians any more. The missionaries disliked this co-operative movement as it involved disputes between the Indian merchants and the Africans. To them disputes sounded like violences. They did not like the move for it was making the African

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[70]Ibid., p. 6.

believers mingle with the worldly people, hence conforming to this world. They strongly advised the believers not to join nor to buy cards from the Societies. However, the Africans found it a way to economic prosperity. They ignored the teaching of the Church.

(c) Cooperation Between Protestant Missions:

The Mennonite Missionaries found other protestant Missionaries operating in Tanganyika. To their advantage the Mennonite Mission joined the Tanganyika Missions Council as an observer. But in 1945, the Mission Board was asked for permission to become a permanent member. The Mission Board consented, but the Bishop Board objected. Since the mission was convinced that joining the Council was to their advantage, they forwarded a copy of the Council's constitution along with its recommendations. In July 1947, permission was granted to the Mission to become a permanent member.[71] The mission was helped by this Organization. Other missions had been in Tanganyika much longer than the Mennonite one. Hence, Mennonite Missionaries could learn something from other Missionaries. Other missions had well established schools and trained teachers who could be lent to the Mennonite Mission to help teach

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[71] George R. Anchak, A History of the Eastern Mennonite Mission In Tanganyika, 1934-1961: (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975), pp. 174-175.

Schools. Above all, the Organization acted as a frontier between the Africans on the one hand and the government on the other. The organization could transmit messages from the government to the Africans since there was no African representation as yet in the Country. Similarily, the missions also conveyed African grievances to the government. Furthermore, to the Mennonite African believers, this Organization was of more advantage to them. All Missionary Societies ran registered and well-established schools. Joining this Organization the Mennonite Mission could see how other missions felt and did towards the Africans in matters pertaining to education, training and Church work. Furthermore, this unity was strengthened by the saved (revivalists) Africans, who were well educated but also good and concerned Christians. The Mennonites were ashamed that none among their Church leaders had attained a considerable amount of education beyond sixth standard.

Between 1940 and 1950 several things happened that shaped up the Mennonite Mission. The Africans were much interested in the work of the Church. They had become Bush School teachers, evangelists, Church leaders. However, they wanted to use the mission as a means of social change and progress. Revival came that purified the churches, particularly among the Africans. Africans recognized themselves as sinners, and the Missionaries as needy righteous workers. The end of World War II brought social, education, economic changes and development. The mid revival (1946) touched both Africans and Missionaries much more deeply. There was a true

picture of man as defective in the eyes of God, regardless of race or denomination. Revival brought real understanding and true love. Missionaries could respond to African grievances with humane and sympathetic Christian sense and commitment. The government also pushed all missions to help educate the African population after the War. The Mennonite Mission was no exception. They were ready to have an institutional Church - particularly in education and medical work.

CHAPTER IV

THE MISSION IS INSTITUTIONALIZED, 1950 - 1960

1. THE ORDINATION OF AFRICAN CLERGYMEN, CHURCH STRUCTURE AND STEPS TOWARD INTEGRATION

Since the Mennonite Mission intended to build a strong African Church based on the three principles of self-propagation, self-support and self- governance, the introduced local church council bodies soon after the first baptisms on every mission station. In Shirati, the local church council was introduced in 1935. The district councils drew their composition from the mission compound as its headquarters, as well as from the bush schools or outposts that served as preaching points.

Every year there was a missionary conference whereby all missionaries met to discuss spiritual matters as well as business affairs. Beginning with 1940, there were separate conferences for both the missionaries and the African church leaders. In July 1940, the African conference was held at Bumangi. The African churchmen argued that the indigenous church was too tightly controlled by the mission. The African church men had been elected as counselors both to their fellow Africans and to the missionaries as well. However, they were not given much responsibility. They were not being paid. They had not been ordained as pastors as it

was with the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. The African church men had not been given enough education to enable them to be capable of efficient counselors. The Africans were disappointed. They saw no reason how the mission could persist on the three principles without giving more responsibility to the Africans. The mission agreed with the Africans, but they said that too much responsibility could not be given to the Africans too soon and too quickly. The missionaries wanted the African church men to be fully cognizant of their position and responsibility before the mission could relinquish authority to them. However, it was felt by the Africans that one could not be fully cognizant of his responsibility and position without having these things given to him. The missionaries wanted to study these African churchmen very well so as to ensure that they were faithful both spiritually and to the missionaries as well. It was a matter of trust before Africans were given responsible positions of counseling.

> "A few of the more trusted christians were taken into counsel, but often there was a barrier between white and black which could not be satisfactorily broken down."[1]

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[1] Merle W. Eshleman, Africa Answers, (Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1951) p. 89.

Such barriers were cultural differences, doubts on the African faithfulness both to God and to the missionaries, and lack of education and experience. It was not very easy for whites to share responsibilities with the Africans. The African counsel was invited only where the missionaries had no alternative. Though both groups of believers were Christian and believed in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, culturally, they were on different planes. Missionaries regarded themselves as civilized white people, but regarded the Africans as converted heathens from pagan backgrounds.

As a means of raising the caliber of church leaders, the mission changed the method by which church elders were being elected. Previously, any church member could nominate a candidate. The mission contended that the new method would prevent a popularity contest from ensuing, and the new procedure was approved by the African churchmen at their annual conference in August 1941.[2]

In July 1941, the missionaries held their annual conference at Shirati. They discussed further procedures to indigenize the African church. Since in the previous year's conference the

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[2] George R. Anchank, A History of the Eastern Mennonite Mission in Tanganyika, 1934 - 1961 (Dissertation for the Ph.D. Degree; Michigan State University, 1975), pp. 121-122.

Africans had told them that they had tightly controlled the African church, they were now ready to set up a machinery for ordaining African clergymen. However, ordination did not take place until nine years later.

At this conference, they discussed a number of vital issues that affected the African church and culture. African circumcision by a native doctor was prohibited, and instead, circumcision was recommended by missionary doctors or else, no circumcision at all. The mission also discussed the admission of polygamous men into the church. The idea was rejected by both the missionaries and the Africans. Marriages performed according to native customs were not recognized. Those who had such marriages thereafter, were excommunicated by the church. Husbands of such wives were only accepted back into the fellowship after their wives had believed and were baptized. The married couple would perform Christian marriages before the husband was accepted back. It was paradoxical that the mission excommunicated such Christians but at the same time they recognized tribal marriages as valid.

Financial support for the native teachers had become a thorny issue, but missionaries argued that since financial support from the latter was not upheld by the scriptures; the church and its schools had to be self-supporting in order to become indigenous. The mission favored increasing of school fees and used the money to pay the native teachers. They suggested that church

tithes should be used solely for church matters, such as evangelism and helping the widows and orphans. In August 1941 at the African conference at Shirati, the missionaries presented these matters to the African conference for discussion. The Africans refused to talk of anything unless the matter of financial aid to church workers was discussed first. But the missionaries remained stubborn.

In July 1942 at the annual conference, the question of Christianizing native elements was again considered. Since people had already been touched by the revival, both missionaries and Africans unanimously agreed that customary practices were incompatible with the standards of a true Christian life.[3] Therefore, male and female circumcision was an unacceptable practice. Similarly viewed were the Luo custom of extracting the lower front teeth, the Zanaki practice of sharpening the upper front teeth, or the Kuria practice of making big holes in their ears. It was much easier than before to have a general consensus by both missionaries and Africans to agree to reject the tribal customs and practices due to the revival that had touched them. The missionaries rejected them as pagan and heathen customs which were incompatible with Christianity.

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[3] Edmund Ilogu, Christianity and Igbo Culture, NOK Publishers, Ltd: New York 1974), p. 63.

Missionionaries had now got an easier way of attacking such customs and practices because the revival had made them think that every African custom and practice were Christian enemies. Some Africans went as far as rejecting their tribes, saying that they were strangers and passers-by in this world, and that their citizenship was in heaven. Their interest was then drawn to the things of the world to come. They therefore took much interest in evangelizing different areas which had not been reached before.

In 1943 and 1944, evangelical efforts were enhanced by the translation of the Bible into several vernacular languages. The New Testament was available in Chijita language. The mission bought many hundred copies of the translation and sold them at a reduced price. Translations were made into Kizanaki, and Kikuria languages.[4] Throughout 1945, African Christians were actively engaged in church work. Church elders suggested many songs that were then included in the printing of new hymn books. They encouraged the mission to print more religious literature in local dialects. In 1946, the mission set up a printing press in order to print Mennonite literature inexpensively in large volume. In 1946, the annual mission conference decided to become a permanent member of the Tanganyika Mission Council.[5]

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[4]Anchank, p. 131.

[5]Ibid., p. 173.

In August 1945, at the annual African conference convened at Nyabasi, the expanding role of the African organization called the General Council was created to govern the African church. The Council was composed of all church elders and members of the mission legislative body. The elders demanded better preparation of church candidates. By training, the Africans meant proper education and church administration courses. One missionary confirmed that the church elders insisted that they should be trained to take over the church governance from the mission.[6] However, the mission never made any effort to introduce such courses.

Between 1940 and 1947, the mission grappled with several problems. It wanted the Mission Board to give an official expression for the implementation of the indigenous church concept in Tanganyika. They wanted to be told if the indigenous church concept was merely the result of transplanting the organization of the Lancaster Mennonite conference church to Africa. They also questioned how their home authorities could keep institutional work to a minimum when both the government and the Africans demanded expansions of educational and medical programs? They found it difficult to know when to transfer church administration to the native leaders.

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[6] Ibid., p. 132.

In other words, the missionaries were struggling to give shape and structure to the African Church. They wanted to make it a permanent and reasonable institution that could stand, perpetuate and endure all the storms and worldly pressures. However, they were also struggling to make it an institution that could be acceptable to both their home church and to the Africans. In addition, they wanted to create and leave a church that would not shame the founders.

In their annual conference in 1948, they discussed two items which were major issues for the future of the mission and church relationship. In the first place they discussed what church organization they should set up and what were the procedures for ordaining African pastors.[7]

Though the missionaries had been instructed to build an indigenous church of self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing, by the Lancaster Mennonite Conference, that very home church wanted to build a Mennonite church almost identical to that in America. They wanted the same type of polity to be practiced by the African church. They wanted the African church to have an organizational church structure based on three-office

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[7]Wade T. Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About (Moody Press: Chicago 1975), p. 68.

ministry where there are bishops, pastors and deacons. They wanted the African church to have a line of demarcation between church and state. They did not expect African Mennonite Christians to hold posts in the civil service, or work for a company. Such practices were incompatible with the Mennonite faith and way of life. In short, the American Mennonite church wanted to see faith and religious life as known and practiced in America to be normative for Africa. They had their minds and understanding closed to cultural and environmental differences. At the same time they were not ready to share financially with the Africans. The Africans could not have afforded to wear plain suits like the Mennonites in the Lancaster conference. African women could not have been able to wear dresses with capes on, for this was just impossible. They did not have people who could make dresses for the entire women population in the church. They did not have the money to buy the materials.

The missionaries on the other hand had a different view. They wanted to build a simply structured church organization based on a two-office-ministry, namely, bishop and deacons. They wanted to see that in the African church pastor and bishop could be the same office. For the missionary pastors in the mission performed duties that in their home church were performed by bishops. So on the mission field and missionary minister's office was both pastor and

bishop.[8] The missionaries believed that a too complicated structure would be too bureaucratic, and interfere with the efforts of Jesus Christ as he built his church. Since bishop Stauffer was soon to leave for his home leave, the missionary body asked him to convey the conflicting issue to the bishop's board in America. Thus, for sometime, the matter of ordaining African pastors came to a standstill.

When Stauffer conveyed the matter to the church in America, the bishops insisted that the African church structure must be based on the three-office-ministry. The American Mennonite Church regarded the church in Tanganyika as their child. "Like father, like son". It was only reasonable, according to the American Mennonites, that the son resembled his father abroad.

Revival had already created problems and barriers of communication between the mission and the Mission Board. Missionaries wrote letters that roused suspicions from the Mission Board, thinking that the Mission was departing from the teachings and faith of the Mennonite Church.[8b] So when the Mission brought the question of having a two-office-ministry as a church structure for the African church, immediately, the Mission Board objected, and

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[8]Anchak, p. 179.

[8b]Ibid, p. 153.

instructed that the African church adopt a three-office-ministry.

On the field a three-office-ministry was appropriate. The African church leaders had been lay preachers for a long time, for more than fifteen years. Although not all of them could be appointed pastors, the most influential would. The less influential could be appointed deacons, and the least influential would remain lay preachers. That would enable the Church to have several pastors, and several deacons and several lay preachers. That would reduce tensions among the ordained, and there would be chains of cooperation-bishop-pastors, deacons-church elders and lay preachers.

To avoid a lot of problems and splits, it was appropriate to have a three-office-ministry. Today, TMC has a bishop, pastor and deacons, helped by elders and lay preachers to run the church.[9]

The second issue that was discussed by the mission conference of 1948 was the concern with the ordination procedures and qualifications for the office of African pastors.[10] In the Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church pastors were selected by lot as it was done in the first apostolic church. However, the missionaries did not like to use this same method in the African church. They contended that the African church would associate such a method

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[9] Ibid., p. 161.

[10] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 92.

with magic. They chose to have every Christian in the constituency from which a pastor was to be nominated, to nominate a certain name and mention it to the ordained missionaries who were available on the day of nomination. They relied upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit to guide the nominators to nominate unanimously those whom they agreed upon. As regards to qualifications of a pastor, some missionaries wondered about some Africans who had been polygamist before becoming Christians. Should such people be nominated pastors or should the sin they had committed before prevent them from becoming pastors? The final conclusion was that the grace of God covered every type of sin and since they were polygamists before becoming Christians that should not prevent them from becoming pastors.[11]

When Stauffer came back from his home leave in 1949, the missionaries reopened the discussion on ordaining African pastors. However, since some missionaries contended that the church had sunk into spiritual coldness, they, therefore decided to suspend the matter indefinitely. They thought that the state of coldness was due to the lure of materialism as evidenced by the growing clamor for secular education. Fortunately enough, in January 1950,

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[11] Anchak, p. 181.

an American deputation visited Tanganyika. Bishop Amos Horst from the Bishop's Board instructed Stauffer to start instructing people about the role and functions of a pastor - It was then clear that before too long there should be ordination of African pastors. Throughout March and April 1950, Bishop Stauffer instructed the Mugango-Majita congregation. He started there because the church in this area had been administered by African church leaders for quite sometime after the death of W. Ray Wenger. During that time the church increased in membership, in spiritual growth and strength without help of a white missionary as an overseer. On August 21, 1950 the church in Mugango-Majita area met to nominate pastors. Ezekiel Kaneja Muganda from Majita area and Andrea Mawawa Mabeba had from Mugango were nominated to become the first two African pastors.[12] Ezekiel Kaneja Muganda had been stationed on Mugango Mission station since 1941, and Andrea Mawawa Mabeba had worked in different places in Majita local congregations before the nomination. On October 6, 1950 the two men were ordained, but the ordination was held, not in Mugango as the headquarters of the station, but it was held at Nyamulibwa, Majita. After that, nomination for pastors was held in the Shirati area. Zedekiah Marwa

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[12] Ibid. p. 183.

Kisare and Nahshon Kawira Kyambok were nominated pastors. On December 10, 1950, they were ordained at Shirati.[13]

Now the African church had come of age. It had become mature, with its own African leadership. The Africans had expected such a thing for quite some time. Their expectation had come true. The African churches moved with a sense of awe and expectancy toward the ordination day. An American Christian commented to several African leaders that becoming a pastor would be a heavy responsibility, the Africans response was, "Yes, but is is also a good work".

On March 18, 1952, the newly ordained pastors except Andrea Mawawa, met with the ordained missionaries who reminded them of the mission plan for an indigenous church according to the three principles. The Africans, though acknowledging the essentials to the principles, did not understand why the door had to be shut to any future financial assistance from the American church. The African church ministers had thought that by ordination they could enjoy the privileges of big houses and cars like the missionary pastors. However, to their utter amazement, things did not go the way the African ordained ministers would have liked. They had hoped for the day to come when their lot would have been improved by becoming

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13 Ibid., p. 184.

pastors. But that seemed not to be the case. In such amazement Stauffer told them some consoling news. He recommended to them to assume the duties of bishop in their districts. That meant that their duties would be similar duties performed by a bishop in American Mennonite churches. Stauffer told them that rather than ordain another bishop to replace W. Ray Wenger who died in June 1945, the African ministers would baptize new converts, administer the Lord's supper, excommunicate backsliders, and perform marriage ceremonies. This attracted the African newly ordained churchmen, thus making the African church take the first step towards the establishment of a two-office ministry.[14] Stauffer then reported to the Bishop's Board in America, recommending that the board confirm the two-office-ministry in the African church organization. Nevertheless, the bishop's board refused to grant permission to structure a two-office-ministry. The American church regarded such an act as a radical proposal or departure from the traditional Mennonite church in America. They wanted the African church to adopt a conference structure system, and a three-office-ministry was necessary to such an organization. They wanted the African church to resemble its founding church in America.[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 185.

[15] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 93.

The African clergymen were caught in a dilemma. They agreed to Stauffer's suggestion that they act in a manner similar to the bishops in American Mennonite churches, namely to perform bishop's duties as they were performed in America. To them, such duties were natural; after all, all missionary pastors were performing such duties, and not the bishop. Secondly, the African pastors could not have anticipated becoming pastors without performing such duties. After all, their neighbors, the Seventh Day Adventist African pastors were doing all that. The African Inland Mission African pastors were also performing such duties. Some of the Christians in Majita area had been baptized by Pastor Jonathan Malongo, who was an African from African Inland Mission. How could the Mennonite Mission ordain African pastors to be preachers without baptizing, or performing marriage ceremonies, or administering the Lord's Supper? They had been lay preachers for more than fifteen years. It was therefore natural that pastors had to be given duties as they were described by Bishop Stauffer.

Soon after the ordination of pastors in Mugango - Majita districts, there followed ordinations in Shirati. Then other congregations had also grown enough to have their own pastors. In January 1956, Bumangi area needed both a pastor and a deason. Jona Itine was ordained pastor and Elisha Meso was ordained

deacon.[16] In November 1956, Nathaniel Robi Nyamare and Yusuf Wambura were ordained pastor and deacon respectively in Nyarero area. Before this, four deacons had been ordained in Mugango - Majita area. Paul Chai and Aristanko Masese were ordained from among the Bajita people and Daniel Maato Sigira and Hazekiah Nyamuko Sarya were ordained deacons from the Baruli people.[17] In Shirati area the ordained deacons were Zephaniah Migire Koja, Dishon Masogo and Isaya Obiero.

The church organizational structure was a three-office-ministry as the Lancaster Mennonite Church had always wished. Similarly, the African Mennonite Church adopted a conference plan. The General Church Council now had to create an executive committee whose first African members were pastors Nahshon Kawira and Obiero from North Mara and pastors Ezekiel Muganda and Jona Itine from South Mara.

In December 1955, the General Church Council met again in order to enlarge its executive committee, that hereafter was called "Komiti Kuu", to ten members, so that it could handle its responsibilities. Several church committees were created. The Bible school, education, annual convention, marriage problem committee and pastor's committee. The Komiti Kuu was comprised of two

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[16] Anchak, p. 190.

[17] Ibid., p. 189.

African pastors, two missionaries and five members from every one of the above mentioned committees. The bishop was the ex-office member. For the first time the Komiti Kuu participated in the preparation of the mission budget.[18]

In June 1956, the deputation sent by the Mission Board from America discussed with the African Church leaders the future course of the African church. This was the first time the American deputation ever discussed church matters directly with the Africans. The mission had been institutionalzied and the African church had been established as an organization. The meeting had frank and open discussions of various problems. Paul Kraybill, Assistant Overseas Secretary of the Mission Board, explained the functions of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and its relationship to the mission in Tanganyika. Bishop Horst, representing the Bishop's Board explained the relationship between Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church and the Mission Board.[19] He assured the African churchmen that the American church had no intention of governing the African church. The African church leaders had an opportunity to ask several questions. They wanted to know if the missionaries would be members of the Tanganyika Mennonite Church

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[18] Ibid., p. 191.

[19] Ibid., p. 191.

when it became a conference. They also wanted to know where the proposed conference would be prepared, whether in Tanganyika or in America? They wondered who could control the missionaries when Tanganyika church became a conference? They asked if funds for African education would be available? They asked about the possibility of increasing secular education in the church schools. They complained that the African church leadership had not been prepared well enough to administer the church sufficiently. To all their questions they got satisfactory answers!

In July 1957, the Komiti Kuu approved the first draft of organizational plan for the African church.[20] The American bishops wondered whether or not the African church would be Mennonite or interdenominational. They insisted that the church adopt a three-office-ministry having bishop pastors and deacons. They wanted the African church to adopt a conference plan.[21] They introduced church policy to be followed by the African church. They insisted that in its constitution the African church clearly assert the separation of church and state, as well as non-resistance and non-conformity to this world. They were therefore successful in transplanting their Mennonite faith to the African church inspite of the resistance by the Mennonite Missionaries and the young African members

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[20] Coggins, So That's What Mission is All About, pp. 33, 35.

[21] Anchak, p. 195.

of the church.

The mission then would be dissolved. There were two approaches to this policy. One, the native church could become independent competely from the sending church, and the Missionaries could not be members of the new native church. The other alternative, was the integration of the mission, and the native church and the missionaries worked for it. Orie suggested that the Tanganyika church take the second alternative plan as one of the partnership which he called "an integrated program". Under this program the sending church and the national one could participate truly in a partnership relationship. He allowed a two year transitional period during which time the mission would work closely with the Komiti Kuu of the African church. The missionaries were urged by Miller to cooperate with the Komiti Kuu in preparation of a statement of faith and practice and the organizational structure of the African church. Furthermore, in the new relationship the Komiti Kuu would assist in the preparation of the annual budget and they would have complete freedom to determine how these funds were dispersed. This information shocked the missionaries; it was something they never expected to hear. They had been working hard on the "three self" principles for all the years they had been in Tanzania. Worse still, they were hurt because Miller never informed them about the changes before. To their disappointment this information had been said publicly in the presence of the Africans. Missionaries were caught, to refuse or

to accept. They could not speak unfavorably about the new plan in the presence of the Africans.

To the Africans, integration was good news. It was something they had wished for many years. True partnership was a truly Christian brotherhood the Africans had expected of the Missionaries from the very inception of the mission. Time had now come for them to sit down with Missionaries to share, not only to evangelize, but also with the mission purse. They now had the opportunity to know something about the mission budget. To have to say on the American money, which previously caused commotion between the missionaries and the Africans, was quite thrilling. God had worked a miracle. Time had come when the door was wide open to share between the mission and the African church. The African received the new policy with enthusiasm. Though the missionaries would not have liked it, they had to accept it. The wind of change had blown hard, not only in the political realm but in the missions too. The mission accepted the policy with a make up smile, or else, the political conditions in the country would possibly force them to give autonomy to the church forcefully. Tanganyika was not very far from its independence. The mission complied with the mission board decision.

In January 1959, an American deputation arrived in Tanganyika to discuss the transitional period, the organization of the proposed church, and the expected relationship between the mission and the

thing to be done was to build dwelling houses for the missionaries. Next the church was built. They hired workmen to help in the work. A lot of Africans came in search not for the salvation of their lost souls, but jobs, they came seeking employemnt. The many of the natives possibly were hired for the first time in their lives.

Together with the work of building a mission station, missionaries were busy learning new languages - Swahili and Luo. A few of the African men knew some Swahili but women and children did not. Some missionaries learned Luo because the mission station was built among them. Others learned Swahili because it was the lingua franca in Tanganyika. As their aim was to preach the message of life to "the heathens" the missionaries were prompt to embark on this at once. Their overriding goal was to spread the good news that salvation was available to all.[25] The first Sunday they were there a few people came to join them. They mostly sang songs since they did not know the languages. They sang songs in English as well as in Swahili. They started evangelizing the Katuru Hill area: They preached on Sundays, and held prayers on Wednesday. They preached to the people who came to work every morning just before they started working. They visited villages in order to preach to the

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[25]Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 13.

which was which. Nobody had been prepared to be treasurer in the proper sense of the word. None of them knew the procedures in administration. They said that they wanted time to gain experience and training before the mission and church could be integrated. However, the mission did not have any plans to provide such training. Although the Komiti Kuu was the sole executive committee, the mission and church existed side by side as two separate organizations. Nevertheless, the young members of the church pushed the older ones, asserting that integration was too slow.

2. EXPANSION OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The philosophy of the mission from the very start was to keep institutional organization at a minimum. Therefore the mission was satisfied with the 3Rs' level of education. However, due to pressure exerted by the African church leaders, the mission slowly but surely upgraded its education program and curriculum. Besides the 3Rs, the curriculum included History, Geography, Nature study and Hygiene between 1945 and 1950. Revival intervals in East Africa accelerated the mission's willingness to expand and upgrade its educational programs. Both Missionaries and Africans met well educated "saved" Africans who had burning testimonies and ardent zeal to propagate the Christian faith.[26] Between 1942 and 1950, the mission was visited

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[26] Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 58.

by different people and teams who came to spread revival. In 1942, Rebeka Mukula came from the Africa Inland Mission, in Vkerewe. She was the one who kindled the first fire or revival in Mugango and Majita. Between 1943 and 1944, came Methusela Chagu, from the same mission. Chagu came preaching in comparative terms: the first, Adam who fell and the second Adam who defeated not only sin but death as well. He preached the carnal man as against the spiritual one. He preached the fruit of the flesh as against the fruit of the spirit. Then between 1946 and 1947, there came teams from the Church Missionary Society, who came preaching against stiff neckedness, and brokenness. They came praising the Lord by singing and shouting. These were well educated Africans. Some were tutors at Katoke Teacher Training school. Others were secondary school teachers. Some were government civil servants. These were all live Christians with burning testimonies. They spoke very good English. They were even invited to stay with the Missionaries in their houses, eating with them, a privilege that had not been extended to the African church leaders in the Mennonite Mission. The African Mennonite Mission churchmen realized that education mattered a great deal. That was why they pressed hard for an education, if not for them, at least for their children. After the war there came drastic changes in favor of African education. The colonial government was ready to expand its educational programs. The government put pressure on missions to expand their programs or to give up educational activities altogether.

The African pressures and demands for an education, the revival forces, pressure from the government and the fear that if the Mission did not participate, the Roman Catholic and the Seventh Day Adventists would take over schools even on the Mennonite Mission stations, forced the Mennonites to plunge into educational activities.[27]

Between 1947 and 1960, they entered education programs with full swing. They registered all their schools on the mission stations. They borrowed teachers from other missions.[28] They trained teachers. They sent their students to other missions' secondary schools. They allied with other missions to run several alliance secondary schools. They once were reluctant to use American church money for African education, and they were willing to accept grants in aid from the Tanganyika colonial government. However, between 1950 and 1960, they had no alternative but to accept government money for educating their Tanganyikan Christians. The point of separation of church and state did not rise then. The Africans could not have agreed to become citizens of the world to come at the expense of their citizenship in this world here and now. The Africans realized that whether they were Christians or otherwise, still they had problems that confronted them, and they were to find solutions to such problems. They were

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[27] Achank, p. 138.

[28] William R. Suggan and John R. Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, (Orbis Books, Mary Knoll: New York, 1976), p. 120.

aware of their poverty and semi-illiteracy. They were aware of other daily needs that were to be met. Education had the answers to many such problems. Revival had made the hearts of white Christians to be soft and sympathetic to the needs of their African counterparts. Even for a while, American church money helped to finance African education for some period of time. Education, however, was to the advantage of the mission as well as the African church. The schools became sources of evangelism. The mission became much occupied by preparing religious instruction, not only for their mission schools, but also for public schools. A lot of school children in both mission and public schools became believers and were baptized. Since the mission had already ordained African clergymen, that ordination caused a rapid increase in church membership. The African pastors were not so strict in baptizing the believers as Missionaries were. There was no regret at all as to why the mission got deeply involved in an African education. Missionaries, church elders, lay preachers and pastors became very active in teaching religious classes both in mission and government schools. Catechism classes were also taught to the believers before baptism. Primary education was considered part and parcel of Christianity.[29]

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[29] Ibid, p. 121.

Between 1954 and 1958, a missionary wrote,

> "Africa is developing rapidly in her economic status and her political aspirations, and we are eager to see that in this situation the young church shall have a vital testimony. The demands of this age require that none of our people get more than a mere primary education.[30]

Besides 27 primary schools that the mission administered by 1960, there were three middle schools, two for boys and one for girls, and an Alliance Secondary school located within the jurisdiction of the Mennonite Mission. Primary schools were for local pupils, but middle schools were owned by the whole Mennonite Mission. Middle schools were all boarding schools. The mission also sponsored students to Kahororo Secondary school run by the church of Sweden Mission, and Dodoma Alliance Secondary school that was run by Church Missionary Society. The first two secondary school African Mennonite students in 1952, were John Migire who went to Bwiru Secondary school and Bernard Muganda who went to Dodoma Alliance Secondary school. Dodoma was Alliance Secondary School run jointly by the Missionary Society and the Moravian Mission. In the same year the first Africans from the mission to qualify as teachers were Michael Muganda, Nathaniel Tingayi and Josiah Muganda. They all have been

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[30]Educational Needs in the Growing Church, Missionary Messenger xxxi - xxxIV, May 1954 - April 1958. Archives of Eastern Mennonite Board and Charities, Salunga, Pennsylvania.

to Katoke Teacher Training school for four years being trained as teachers. By 1954, another group of African teachers from the mission had qualified. These were Bospater Muttani, Jonathan Kulya, Thomas Migire, Phinehas Nyangoro Shemaya Magati and Aram Ndenge Mataro. There were some girls sponsored by the Mission who attended middle schools at Nassa and Mvumi. Some of them became teachers and others nurses. The Mennonite Mission Girls Middle School was opened in 1957, at Bumangi Mission station. In 1959, the middle school moved to its permanent compound at Morembe, near Lake Victoria. In 1958, Musoma Alliance Secondary school was opened between Musoma town and Bukiroba mission station. By 1960, there were many Mennonite mission followers both in mission and public schools.[31]

The mission embraced the middle school system very warmly. The system enabled the mission to keep in touch with the students for another four years. Primary school age was between 8-10 years. By the time students finished primary school, they were between 12-14 years of age. The middle school took four years to finish, thus students were between 16-18 years when they finished. The mission saw that within those years of the middle school life, students reached the most likely age for conversion.

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[31]Kraybill, God Led Us To Tanganyika, p. 27.

3. "NATIONALISM ACCELERATED AFRICANIZATION IN THE CHURCH"

(a) ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Missionaries came preaching the love of God and the brotherhood of man. They said that among the people of God there was neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor master, but Christ was all in all. It was easy to preach and teach to the Africans such messages. However, it was not very easy to fulfill by actions and deeds. The Missionaries were paternalistic, discriminatory, scornful and domineering. Some of their attitudes caused some Africans to distrust them and their teachings. That is why some Africans went to join World War II despite the teaching of the mission on non-violence and non-resistence. That is why some Africans decided to give up their Christian faith and resorted to polygamy and to their tribal customs and practices. A Missionary wrote, in the mid 1950s and said:

> "For though none of us has meant to have anything but sincere love for those who were sent, yet the nature of that love has sometimes been paternalistic rather than brotherly.[32]

"Action sounds louder than words". The Africans were able to note such minor incidents done to them by the Missionaries. They sensed the psychology behind such actions. They realized that the

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[32]Paul M. Kraybill (Editor) God Led Us To Tanganyika (Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities; Salunga, Pennsylvania, 1956), p. 13.

Missionaries teachings were sometimes different from their actions. Therefore, some of the Africans did not see the reasons why they should adhere to all the teachings of the missionaries who were not wholeheartedly in sympathy with their cause in 1948.

In the Lake regions cooperative societies were launched to counter the naked exploitation that was exercised by the Asian traders against the African people. The cooperative societies aimed at unifying all the Africans in the regions to rally behind the leaders of the societies by not taking their agricultural products to the Asian traders.[33] The cooperative leaders appealed to all African citizens to join them in order to get rid of exploitation exercised by the Asian traders. The Mennonite Mission, like other missions, warned its African followers of the dangers of conforming according to this world. The mission discouraged the African christians, especially in Majitaland area, where cotton grew, from joinning such a movement. However, the Mennonite African believers, like any other Christian in the country, did not listen to the voice of the mission. They joined the societies and became active members.

They joined rank and file in order to fight the naked economical exploitation that faced the African peoples. Prices for agricultural products were very low and impermanent. The Indian ginnery managers

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[33] Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, pp. 126-127.

decided to put prices according to their will. Prices changed from time to time. Worse still, people were cheated a great deal since they did not know how to read and write. They did not know how to tell the weights of their cotton loads on the scale. The cooperative societies bought scales and measured the weights of their members first before they took the cotton loads to sell to the Indian buyers. Some Missionaries warned their followers against communism.[34] Some thought materialism was encroaching into the church. However, this was not communism nor was it materialism, but this was the beginning of nationalism. This was the beginning of economic awakening. The Africans wanted to dress better, to eat well and to have their standards of living improved. They were aspiring to wearing shoes, buy bicycles, send their children to school, but then they were being exploited and greatly cheated. The only alternative they had was to unite to fight the common enemy, the Indian cotton buyers. This was also the beginning of political nationalism. They knew that the exploiters were both foreign and colonial. They had to rally behind their leaders regardless of their tribal origin. The cooperative societies unified people from different tribes around Lake Victoria. To the Africans in these regions there was no Msukuma, Mjita, Msizaki or Mkereve. It was "Umoja ha Ushirika" (Unity and cooperation), that mattered and not tribalism. The cooperative societies grew to the

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[34] Achank, p. 119.

extent of forming unions and the unions formed a federation. Under the union there were several cooperative societies. These unions joined together to become Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions. By 1955, this organization had grown in stature and strength. It became incorporated. It formed the biggest cooperative movement in Africa. Ambassador Paul Bomani, currently stationed in Washington, D. C., was the founder and the first General Manager of the Federation of Cooperative Unions.[35] This was the beginning of economic and political nationalism in Tanzania.

(b) POLITICAL NATIONALISM

Soon after World War II, there was a lot of political awakening in Tanganyika. This was partly due to the soldiers who came back from the war aspiring to be treated better. When that did not happen, they resorted to politics. Secondly, after World War II, Tanganyika became a British trusteeship territory under the United Nations. The people in Tanganyika knew that one day they would attain independence from the United Kingdom.[36] The United Nations delegation visited Tanganyika on several occasions, urging the British to prepare the Tanganyikans to rule themselves later. By 1950 the United Nations deputation visited Tanganyika and urged the British to speed up Tanganyika's development. In 1954, an African political party was

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[35]Personal interview with H. E. Ambassador Paul Bomani, the Embassy of the United Republic of Tanzania in Washington, D. C. December 13, 1977.

[36]Kraybill, God Led Us To Tanganyika, p. 5.

launched to fight for the indepencence of the Tanganyikans. The party's name was the Tanganyika African National Union, that was started on July 7, 1954. The party's first president was Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, whose home village was only a few miles from Bumangi Mennonite Mission station.

T A N U (Tanganyika African National Union) appealed to all Africans in the country, regardless of creed, religion, or tribe, to join rank and file in order to drive away colonialism, disregard, exploitation, irrespect, and oppression of the African people by colonialism and racism. Unity of the Tanganyikans was very important if the political party were to be successful. T A N U promised to end colonialism, racism, color-bar, exploitation, suppression, oppression, degradation and all the evils pertaining to the system of colonialism. T A N U promised to bring dignity and respect to the Africans, who for centuries, had been deprived of the same through slavery and colonialism. The party promised to erase illiteracy, to reduce poverty, to get rid of segregation and discrimination in schools, public bars, in hotels and in housing. These promises were ideals that people had been waiting for for quite sometime. They were very appealing as well as promising. The masses of people were enthusiastic. They joined the party, bought cards, paid their dues, and became members. The Mennonite Mission, like other missions in Tanganyika, did not like the formation of the political party. They regarded African nationalism as communism, anti-God, and

anti-white rule.[38] They discouraged the Christians from joining the club of the politicians who were received as hooligans and senseless. That did not surprise the Africans, for the missionaries were Westerners and the colonial government was run by white people. The Christian missions in Tanganyika were conducted by Missionaries from England, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and U.S.A., all English speaking countries, and very closely attached to the British crown. Furthermore, their blood was Anglo-saxonized, or Germanic. It was only natural for them to support Her majesty's Government. To challenge the crown seemed to challenge God; for every authority is given of God. The Mennonite Mission warned again of conformity to this world. However, the Africans disregarded the warning. They became party members just as any other people in Tanganyika. When the mission saw that the Africans were keen to join the party by becoming members, it kept quiet. The mission did not excommunicate those who became political party members.

> "The missionary was forced to face political implications regarding church and state which he would not have had to face at home...Hess stated that some of the missionaries were afraid of nationalism, but slowly they learned to recognize its legitimate aspects and became less fearful."[39]

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[38] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 156.

[39] George R. Anchak, Dissertation for Ph.D. Degree, (Michigan State University: Department of History, 1975), p. 268.

Between 1958 and 1960, the mission changed from its former approach. The Mission Board decided to integrate the mission and the African church. The "three-self" policy of indigenous church building was to be replaced by new policy of "partners in obedience,[40] whereby, the mission's program and property would be turned over to the African church after a transitional period. This meant that the African church was to be independent and the mission dissolved. It was going to replace the mission and become employer of the missionaries.. This was quite a change.

One wonders what caused such abrupt changes in the Mission Board to adopt a new policy.[41] It was as early as July 1947, at Whitby, Ontario, when the International Missionary Council discussed the topic, "partners in obedience."

During its deliberations, the conference was urged to pass leadership from the Missionaries to the local christian leaders. The Missionaries were urged to become members of the new churches and were subject to their rules, directions and disciplines. The sending churches were advised to give financial supports to the young churches. The missions were advised to give portions of responsibilities to the local church leaders. The Mission Board thought that time had come

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[40] Ibid. p. 238.

[41] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 67.

for them to change their mission policy on these lines. They were prompted to do so because after World War II there were many changes in the world. India had become independent and many Africans were demanding indepencence. In addition to this, in Tanganyika, political events were favoring the country very well. By 1958, T A N U that started in July 1954, had been assimilated by most of the population.[42] The political climate had expanded and become so strong that both the colonial government as well as the Missionary Societies were clear that Tanganyika indepencence was inevitable. Furthermore, the younger generation in the Tanganyika Mennonite Mission was pushing hard for integration. Therefore the mission was advised to accelerate the integration of the church as soon as possible.

> "Stauffer believed that EMBMC, especially Orie, Miller, was aware of the changes which were occuring in the missions throughout the world as a result of the winds of nationalism which were spreading over Asia and Africa, including Tanganyika.[43]

The author believes that Christianity, as well as every other religion, does not complete or make people whole in isolation.[44] Always historical, political and economic forces have helped Christianity to take new shape. Reformation could never have happened until it was shaped by political and economic conditions of the late Medieval Europe.

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[42] Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 52.

[43] Ibid, p. 241.

[44] The Arusha Declaration and Christian Socialism. Six papers presented at Seminar held at University College Dares Salaam in 1967 following the Arusha Declaration Tanzania Publishing House, 1969., p. vii.

The Roman Catholic Church was busy building both temporal and spiritual powers. It did not see its short comings nor the sufferings of the masses of people. It was busy taxing money, selling indulgences and building cathedrals. During slavery days, Catholic Portugal and Spain were involved in slave trade, asserting that it was better to have Christian slaves rather than have free pagans. The slaves became a commodity and a source of cheap labor to two Christian powers. In Tanganyika the Christian missions did not think of giving independence to the African Churches before political independence shook them. The Christian church almost always has been too late to initiate change before it was shaken by political changes. The Mennonite Mission was shaken by social, historical, economic and political change to institutionalize the church and gave it its autonomy.

CHAPTER V

THE MENNONITE MISSION BECOMES AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH

1960 - 1967

1. THE MISSION IS AFRICANIZED

By 1958, the philosophy of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities was changed from the "three indigenous principles" to the one of "partners in obedience". According to this new policy, the mission activities, programs and properties would be handed over to the local church, after a transitional period of two years. The mission in Tanganyika was instructed to work toward that end. The Tanganyika Mennonite church would become independent in 1960. Furthermore, the Mission Board preferred to change the principle from "partners in obedience" to "integration", for through this philosophy the national and the sending church would work together in a partner relationship. During this period the mission was urged to work closely with the Komiti Kuu of the African Church. In fact, the executive committee of the mission was supposed to merge with the Komiti Kuu.[1] However, that did not materalize; instead, the mission executive committee worked side by side with

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[1]Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 118.

the Komitu Kuu. This was simple because the African leadership had no knowledgeable personnel who could participate fully in the integration between the mission and the church. There were no Africans who had been trained in accounting, finance, planning, or administration. The mission never organized such courses for all those years it had been there.[2] Although the Africans were considered spiritually mature, and they could preach and evangelize, their spiritual maturity could not help them to cope with the basic policies of an independent church and its administrative problems.

This policy was introduced in the mission toward the end of the colonial era in Tanganyika, during which time people were longing for economic modernization and technological advancement, economic development and urbanization.[3] Political advances upset the old social change between the official and the governed, and this had far reaching effects in all directions.[4] These effects were not limited only to colonial government officers and their African subjects, but they also affected Missionaries and Christian believers. By 1958, Tanganyika's politics that started in July 1954, spread everywhere over the country and had been embraced even

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[2]Louise R. Chapman, The Problem of Africa (Beacon Hill Press, Kansas City: Misouri, 1952), p. 74.

[3]Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C. R., Christ and the New Nations, (Morehouse - Barlow Company, New York, 1966), p. 66.

[4]World Counsel of Churches, Africa in Transition: The Challenge and Christian Response (All Africa Church Conference, Department of Church and Society, 1962), p. 14.

by church followers. The country would be independent within the next few years. The Mission Board was not sure what would be the situation in Tanganyika after independence. The Africans had become politically aware. They were much bolder than they had been before. All this had an impact on the minds of missionary societies as well as mission boards. The Mission Board as well as the mission had advocated the development of a self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing church for many years. Now Tanganyika would be independent within the next few years, and in order to match up with political independence, the Mission Board decided to introduce a new policy that would enable TMC to become an independent church. The Mission Board gave a directive to the Mission to implement the policy. However, both the Mission and the African church leadership were caught unprepared. Thus Stauffer said:

> "Then came news of a new trend in Mission strategy suggesting that we should be "partners in obedience". We were told we should be integrated.[5]

The Mission hesitated to implement the policy for several reasons. They had no African churchmen who had been trained to take over the administration of the church. They thought that

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[5] Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 118.

handover of responsibility to incapable Africans would result in the collapse of the church. If it did, that could have shown their weakness in not having trained the Africans. Secondly, there was a political fear for the whites to be under African organization, sharing ideas, cars and houses.

> The old relationships in Africa between the whites and the blacks were found in an atmosphere of superior-inferior attitudes -- In a few short years this transition brought about a significant change from policies based on "superior - inferior" theme to relationships resulting from the doctrine of free and equal partnership.[6]

Characteristically, a white man wanted to give orders, needed positions of elevation, wanted to do something for the Africans, and in return he expected appreciation and gratitude from the Africans. Therefore, it was not easy for them to expect that one day they would be under an African church organization. Thirdly, the policy was introduced to the Missionaries right there in the presence of the Africans without prior warning. The mission would have like to be consulted alone so that they could examine the pros and cons of the policy. They were therefore astounded as what to say. But since it was a directive, they had to implement it.

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[6]Melady, The White Man's Future In Africa, A MacFadden Book: New York, 1962), p. 62.

On the other hand, the African churchmen also hesitated to welcome the new policy. For one reason, they were not trained in any kind of administrative skills, financial responsibility, nor in policy planning.[7] Thus, words like "partners in obedience, integration, and transitional period" were completely new words to the churchmen. They were confusing in their terminology. Secondly, they had several questions to ask before they accepted the policy. They had burning questions including the following:

> ..What advantage to them this new plan will have? What will they get? How will they fare? How can we have the best missionary - national relationship?[8]

Therefore, rather than be exposed to their inadequacies too abruptly, the Africans preferred to take over the affairs of their church slowly, gradually, and carefully. They had a young church which was far from self-supporting. They had no qualified personnel to run a church as an organization. They did not know how they would relate to and approach the new African government in Tanganyika that was being eagerly expected. The Africans found that it was not enough to be "born again" or to be "saved" in order to live intelligently in this world. They needed to have been equipped with the

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[7]Wade T. Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, (Moody Press: Chicago), p. 37.

[8]Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 118.

tools of education, administration, finance, accounting and planning in order to solve daily institutional problems. They were caught between wanting to run the affairs of their church as they had advocated previously, but felt the inability to take over efficiently and satisfactorily. It is true that "leaders are born", but it is also true that "leaders are made" through constant exposure and training in relevant fields or situations. The mission had potential African leaders; however, the mission did not make them more capable leaders than they were. The Mission was always eager to preach the Bible, to hear testimonies from the people, and to see the Africans volunteer for evangelical work. This failure to face the future realistically, resulted in a failure to plan for it.[9]

When the old African leadership moved slowly toward integration the young generation was unhappy about it. They blamed the leadership for being too slow to take over. These young ones who were politically conscious thought integration went slowly because some missionaries were still sitting on the Komiti Kuu. They concluded that African leadership did not emerge because those missionaries liked to keep the Africans down.[10] However, in August 1960,

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[9] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 34.

[10] Melady, The White Man's Future in Black Africa, p. 50, Anchak, Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 251.

an American deputation came to meet with the Komiti Kuu to discuss TMC's constitution. They clarified some issues which were of concern to the Africans. TMC was declared a free conference by the American deputation which was composed of two bishops and a Secretary to the Mission Board. The mission died out, and in its stead TMC came into existence. Its structure was a national church with General conference, bishops, pastors, deacons and lay preachers. It inherited all Mission properties, buildings, hospitals and dispensaries, a Bible School and a printing press.

In keeping with its objectives of Africanizing its program, the Mission Sunday School committee was integrated, and thereafter reported to the General church council. An African pastor was chosen to direct youth programs including the Sunday School committee. The General church council created a committee on evangelism and outreach.[11] The committee functioned as a mission board for TMC. Mission stations were put under the superintendecy of Africans. As a last stage of Africanization, TMC ordained its first African bishop in January 1967.

> Behind whatever social change may be evident in West Africa today, the prime and the causal change has been

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[11] Coggins, So That's What Mission Is All About, p. 9.

the rapid and universal progress from the colonial status to that of fully independent or emergent states.[12]

TMC's Africanization came as a result of political pressure and uncertainty. It was done without much preparation and training.

2. TMC's RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS PARENTAL CHURCH

During the transitional period, the mission and TMC prepared the church constitution. In 1960, a deputation came from America to meet with the Komiti Kuu to discuss the adoption of the TMC constitution. They discussed the Mennonite Articles of Faith which are observed by all the Mennonite brotherhood. The American deputation regarded TMC as their child. Therefore, "like father, like son,"[13] they wanted TMC to be like the Lancaster Mennonite Church. They made several trips to Tanzania during this time for they were not sure whether or not the African church would be a Mennonite or denominational one. The Mennonite deputation wanted the teachings of non-violence, non-conformity to this world, foot washing, the head covering for prayer, and such practices as followed by the Lancaster Mennonites to be reflected in the constitution of TMC.

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[12] All Africa Churches Conference, Africa In Transition, p. 13.

[13] C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1957), p. 675.

After a long discussion, Stauffer made it clear to them that TMC would remain a Mennonite church. The deputation was satisfied. They told the African churchmen that the Articles of Faith were similar to all Mennonite church conferences. When the deputation was satisfied that all was well, it recognized TMC as an autonomous conference. The pronouncement was made by Bishop Amos Horst, moderator of Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church. Soon after the pronouncement, Bishop Donald Lauvel expressed his feelings by saying:

> Our eyes suddenly became misty as I realized that I was witnessing something very undeserving. I felt very humble. Today I saw the fruit of 27 years of labor in sacrifical service by our missionary brothern and sisters. [14]

After this expression, the Secretary of the Mission Board told the African church leadership:

> "You have become a conference...There is a church in America and there is a church in Africa. We want to be partners. The church in America wants to help you..." [15]

The African church men were very touched emotionally, not only by the messages from the deputation, but indeed by the whole process of the drama of the activities done by the Mission and them from its inception until the stage of autonomy. They might have remembered

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[14] Andrak, Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 253.

[15] Erb, Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and an Era, p. 199

the drama of the struggles, the tugs of war, the weeping of some Missionaries whenever there was a disagreement between the two races, and the angry words exchanged at odd times. However, time had come when the African church men were told that they were not at the steering of their own church. This happened, not through struggles as before, but indeed through love. They recalled that then there was a church whose membership was beyond 7,000 communicants. There were about 30 primary schools, three middle schools, an alliance secondary school, a theological college, a big hospital and several dispensaries, as well as a nursing school. TMC had to inherit church buildings, garages, mission quarters, cars, stores, and a printing press. They once realized that they were regarded as employees of the mission, but that then they had become the employers, giving the lead, and possibly orders. Several of them expressed gratitute from the bottoms of their hearts:

> "It is only the love of God that caused you to do this"
> "I have a great joy in seeing this wonder of all wonders."
> "This melts our hearts".
> "There is no political power that works like this".
> "No one demanded this grant".
> "We praise the Lord for this great love".
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> [16]

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[16]Shenk, Mennonite Safari, p. 117.

Then they all stood up and unanimously said, "asante sana, (thank you very much). Glory be to God in the highest".[17] The Tanganyikans appreciated the hasty steps taken by the Mission Board and the mission to make TMC independent even before the country attained its independence from the British colonial government. However, autonomy and independence did not mean the end of missionaries. Elam Stauffer, founder of the Mission field and the first Mission bishop served quietly as bishop and first chairman of the newly independent church. Missionary pastors did not cease to function. The doctors and nurses went about their daily activities without much interruption. The Mission Board as usual sent Missionaries on requests, and financial aid went on as it had been before. These kept relationships between TMC[18] and Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church close.

Furthermore, TMC's constitution and Articles of Faith, are essentially Mennonite in content and confession. Though they were written in Tanganyika nevertheless they were approved by the deputation from Lancaster Conference Mennonite Church before they pronounced TMC as an autonomous conference.

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[17] Erb, Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and an Era, p. 198.

[18] Erb, Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and an Era, p. 191
Melady, The White Man's Future in Black Africa, pp. 62, 63.

"The doctrine prologue to the constitution was slightly modified from the Dordrecht confession by Faith of 1632, and the Articles of Faith closely resemble the 1921 Garden City statement of North American Mennonite church.[19]

In addition to these, there are constant visitations between the two conferences. In the summer of 1961, the first TMC deputation visited Mennonite churches in North America. These were Zedekiah Kisare and Ezekiel Muganda. In 1964, another deputation from TMC visited Mennonite churches in Lancaster. There have been several trips by pastors, bishops and church Secretaries, from TMC, who visited churches in America. There have been several visits by members of the TMC from time to time. On all these visits the Mission Board arranged the trips and paid for most of the expenses. On the other hand, there have been regular visits from the Mission Board officials and Lancaster Mennonite Bishops to TMC.[20]

3. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TMC AND LANCASTER MENNONITE CHURCH CONFERENCE

TMC, being a young church in a different country, different environment, and different social political and economic situation, must differ from its parental Church overseas. The Lancaster Mennonite church is Swiss - Dutch - German in origin. They have a

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[19]Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 119.

[20]Erb, Orie O. Miller, The Story of a Man and an Era, p. 201.

historical heritage of suffering under Lutheranism, Zwinglianism and Calvinism. TMC does not share such heritage experientially. If TMC shares that, it is only through Bibical teachings or through the history of the church.[21] Since we are just a new church and since we have not gone through persecution because of faith, we have not developed a theology of suffering. TMC in short has not experienced suffering religiously or politically. Socially, the Africans are gregarious. We live in groups of clans or tribes. We are a tolerant people, also. In one family there can be Moslems, Catholics or Protestants. TMC will be what it might become by being shaped with the socio - economic - political perspectives that will be solely Tanzanian. TMC cannot devise rules pertaining to attire and way of life of the Lancaster Mennonites. We have different climates, different technologies, different skills, as well as a different economy. To copy the American Mennonite way of life is to become slaves to their culture.[22] The American Mennonites have their symbols that were adopted by them at a particular time and place in their history. They do not mean much to Africans. So we might share the same faith and beliefs in such

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[21] Roland H. Binton, Christendon - A Short History of Christianity and Its Impact on Western Civilization, Volume I, Harper and Row, Publishers: New York, 1966), p. 51.

[22] Kanneth Kaunda, A Humanist In Africa, Abingdon Press: New York, 1966).

things as peace and non-violence and love, for these are Bibical principles. However, if non-conformity to them means non-cooperation with other Christians belonging to different denominations, to the Africans non-conformity would mean things like not going to the juju, the palm reader, or commercial spiritual advisers.

Although TMC has inherited a church structure similar to that of Lancaster Mennonite Conference, yet it is also different. Our ministers are salaried ones.[23] Every minister is both pastor and bishop in one. The Mennonites in Lancaster have bishops officiating at marriage ceremonies and holy communion rituals. However, in Tanzania, all that is done by a pastor. Furthermore, our pastors serve a large area or district. The Majita district has more than one thousand Christians. It would have taken at least two bishops to administer that many members. The mission started with a lay preacher ministry. TMC will remain a lay preacher church for quite some time to come. Lay preachers in Tanzania are self-supporting, tilling the land or doing their own trade, while taking care of their small local congreagations. Since we are surrounded by big churches like Lutherans and Anglicans, we tend to imitate them in their hierarchy. By ordaining only one bishop to take care of

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[23] C. Henry Smith, The Story of The Mennonites (Mennonite Publication Office: Newton, Kansas, 1957), p. 22.

more than 10,000 members, TMC departed from the Mennonite hierarchy. TMC tends to become episcopal in structure, whereby powers are in the hands of the highest authority. This is contrary to the Mennonite Lancaster Conference, whereby powers are in the hands of congregations, for Mennonites believe in the priesthood of all believers.[24]

TMC also differs in terms of occupation and employment. Whereas the Mennonites in America are traditionally a religious cultural group, and farmers by occupation, the Tanzania Mennonites are mostly peasants. They depend on the kindness of a moderate weather, not too much rain as this may ruin crops, and not too much sun (heat), as that also can spoil the crops. The weather is very precarious, and makes life very risky. Therefore, those who go to school and get good educations, change occupations. They join the market employment. Their skills and technical know how are needed, since Tanzania is a young developing nation. Therefore TMC's young people join any kind of employment according to their desires and the availability of openings in the civil service and parastatal organizations.[25]

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[24] I Peter 2:4-5.

[25] William R Duggan and John R. Civille - Tanzania and Nyerere, (Books, Mary Knoll: New York, 1976), pp 126, 127, 128.

There are no separate christian industries in Tanzania. There is no separation of church and state in terms of occupation and employment, for Tanzania has been declared a secular state. However, Christianity has introduced the work ethic. The African struggle at the present time is an occupation that will be used as a means to social change and development. Any job, including one in the police or army, will be accepted by the seeker, provided it is available. It will take TMC a major change in socio-economic- and political aspects of life to develop a theology of its own.

4. EDUCATION AT HOME AND ABROAD

Another area of cooperation is in the field of education. Between 1955 and 1960, the young Tanzanians were pushing their leaders to demand the Mission to make provisions for TMC to send students to study overseas, particularly in America. By then, the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Missions had sent their members to study in Europe and America. The young TMC members did not see why the Mennonite Mission could not do so. The young Tanzanians pushed their elders, who in turn pushed the Mission and the Mission pushed the Mission Board.

As early as 1955, the General Board Education Council of the Mennonite General Conference, Elkhart Indiana, created a collegiate council for the purpose of selecting foreign students to attend Mennonite colleges in the United States. The Eastern Mennonite Board of Charities agreed to the idea. They in turn asked TMC to

appoint students. However the Board was not willing for students to go for secular education. They wanted students to go to the States for studying advanced Bible courses so that on their return they could teach at BuKiroba Bible School. The Mission preferred those who longed for technical education to stay back home and go to school there.[26]

In September 1960, Paul Kraybill, Secretary of the Mission Board presented a student plan aid to the Board. He proposed that the Mission Board should sponsor students from Tanganyika to study at Eastern Mennonite College, starting in the Fall of 1961. TMC was asked to select students on the basis of their experience in the church and their future commitments to work for TMC. The qualities sought in the applicants were church loyalty and dependability. Candidates also had to have secondary school education, or satisfactory scores on the entrance examination.[27] In September 1961, the first two TMC students attended Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia. TMC paid their fares. The Board paid their tuition, and the students were given work to do in order to contribute to their room and board expenses. Between 1961 and 1970, a good many TMC

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[26] Andrak, Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 275.

[27] Ibid, p. 280

members had attended Mennonite Colleges in the United States. All of these people went back to Tanzania and are contributing quite significantly to the welfare and development of Tanzania. Even now there are still a few TMC students attending Mennonite colleges, sponsored by the Mission Board, provided they are recommended by TMC.

Getting an opportunity to study overseas was quite an accomplishment as well as a fulfillment of both students and their parents. To see one's desire and ambition attained, was quite something to the recipients of the scholarships. It gave them an advantage of staying abroad, away from home, to know the white race, and their successes, failures and their problems. It gave them an opportunity to expand their intellectual horizons.[28] Knowledge is power.

When the author of this paper was about to leave home for the United States to pursue college studies at Eastern Mennonite, his father came to give a farewell sermon. In his message, he quoted:

> "...My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior. For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden. For behold, from hence-forth all generations shall call me blessed. For he that is mighty has done to me great things, and holy is his name.[29]

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[28] William R. Duggan and John R. Civille, Tanzania and Neyerere, p. 123.

[29] Luke 1:47-49.

> The Preacher went on to say: Esther is studying abroad in Sweden. Bernard is in the United States, studying. Now, Josiah is going overseas to study. Three children living abroad! It is marvelous. It is by the grace of God. For I am a poor creature, penniless..[30]

Other parents also expressed gratitude to see their children get higher education, either at home or overseas. They were appreciative of the Christian Mission that introduced agencies of transformation and modernization -- especially in the fields of medicine and education.[31] Mission Schools also introduced the work ethic; "either you work or you don't eat", freedom from fear, freedom of mind, though these were in abstract forms, for they did not let Africans speak out as free and imaginative people. They expected the Africans to be humble and meek, always receiving directives and orders from the Missionaries.

Most of these students who went away to the United States to study were mature, having families back home. Their wives and children could not go with them at once, for scholarships were only for the students, and did not include their families. One wonders what motivated such students to leave their families to go so far

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[30] Sermon of August 26, 1962.

[31] William R. Duggan and John Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 121.

away from home and for such a long time! President Kaunda, a believer in Christian humanism asserts:

> "I believe that Man must be the servant of a vision which is bigger than himself, that his path is illumined by God's relevation and that when he shows love towards his fellow men, he is sharing the very life of God, who is Love. When Man learns, by bitter experience if in no other way, that the only hope for the peace and happiness of the world is to give political and economic expression to love for others we shall have entered not the Kingdom of Man but the Kingdom of God.[32]

When such students were young and single, the Mission failed to provide them with the education they needed. When they got scholarships to study overseas, their families were not able to accompany them. Yet, these people were servants of a vision. They saw that in sacrificing themselves by staying away from their families, they would definitely be able to help their families into a better life later. In higher education they envisioned good education, constant and reasonable pay, permanent employment and good positions. In short they were led to aspire for better living for themselves, their families, and progress for their country and its institutions. They sacrificed themselves with great faith for development and modernization.

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[32] Kenneth Kaunda and Collin M. Morris, A Humanist In Africa, Abingdon Press: Nashville, 1966), p. 39.

Our politicans had to risk positions and even life itself when they stood up with their open minds and mouths to challenge the colonial authorities for the independence of our Country. They were servants of a vision. In order to join them, our leading scholars of today had to sacrifice themselves, their families and rough lives in order to have better means to help and bring about progress and modernization. It is these kind of risk and sacrifices that have led Tanzania on the road to modernization.

CONCLUSION

MISSIONARY WORK CHANGED LIVES IN TANZANIA AND AFFECTED MENNONITISM IN LANCASTER CONFERENCE

1. LANCASTER MENNONITE CONFERENCE BECAME A SENDING CHURCH.

Jesus commissioned his disciple, "Go...teach all nations to observe all things...I have commanded you".[1]

The church is a community composed of believers from all nations.[2] It is therefore a universal fellowship of people who have been taught to observe whatsoever its Lord has commanded them. A living church has got a message to proclaim to its members as well as to unbelievers, "for whosoever believes and baptized shall be saved".[3] It is a teaching church, and a witnessing body of believers.

To the Anabaptists, the church was viewed as apocalyptic and prophetic. It had a message to warn the worldly of the last judgment. To them the church was a pilgrim community, briefing sojourning in the world, but having its true home in the world to

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[1] Matthew 28: 19-20.

[2] Rosemary R. Ruether, The Radical Kingdom, (Harper Row, Publishers: New York, 1970) p. 24.

[3] Mark 16:16

come".[4] However, long persecutions and torture contributed to a decline in the Mennonites evangelical zeal. They internalized and spiritualized their faith, thus, separating themselves from the rest of the world around them, and created "a provisional paradise".[5] They became quiet folks in the land, sharing and dealing only with their own kind. This was their conviction and attitude when they came to America.

> When the modern missionary movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sent a great wave of missionaries to the non-christian areas of the world, the Mennonite church was hardly aware of it.[6]

However, the revival movement did not leave the Mennonite unaffected.[7] In various sections of the church, mission interest grew. In Virginia the gospel was carried to the mountaineous valleys of West Virginia. In 1882 the Mennonite Evangelizing committee was organized to assist ministers visiting Mennonite people on the frontiers. In 1906 the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities was organized. In Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a missionary church organization was organized around 1914. Out of that organization grew the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities. It

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[4]Ruether, The Radical Kingdom, pp. 28-29.

[5]Ibid., p. 32.

[6]Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 5.

[7]Ibid., p. 6.

started programs in cities and in mountainous areas, trying to reach the ghetto people and the poor in rural areas, respectively.[8]

Sunday School, which previously was vehemently opposed as worldly, became a vehicle for nurturing and strengthening the church members as well as a source of evangelical zeal.[9] The Lancaster Mennonite church conference then plunged itself into missionary work, supporting it with personnel and money.[10] By the early 1930s, interest in missionary work had grown so much that the church was ready to start missionary work in Tanganyika in 1934. In the 1940s they started Missionary work in Ethiopia. In the 1950s, they introduced missionary work in Somalia. Today they have Missionary activities in Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Botswana.

Today, Lancaster Conference Mennonite church is actively involved and engaged in the Missionary activities all over East Africa, Botswana, Vietnam and Europe. The members have revived the Anabaptists concept of the church as ever witnessing and ever sojourning. In addition to that, they have gone beyond the Anabaptists' concept of the Church which was understood in terms of

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[8]Ibid., p. 6.

[9]Ibid., p. 45.

[10]Ibid., p. 49.

Swiss - Dutch - Germanic fellowships and subcultural communities. Today the Mennonites are actively involved, not only among these groups, but also they are witnessing in major cities like New York. They are reaching the Hispanic communities and Black folks. They are also reaching their own young people who are scattered in cosmopolitan centers of the American cities, working or studying. Overseas they are involved in evangelism, medical work, teaching in Bible schools, and supporting different projects in different developing nations.[11] The Mennonite Church has become a sending missionary church.

2. THE GOSPEL CHANGED LIVES IN TANGANYIKA

"The people which sat in darkness saw great light, and to them that sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up".[12] Zedekiah Kisare, the first African ordained bishop said: "Without the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ shining upon me, I would not have come out of this darkness".[13] The gospel was preached to the "heathen and pagan people", who were full of fear, and superstition. People to whom the gospel was preached were

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[11] Missionary Messenger, Salunga Vol. L IV, No. 7 Pennsylvania, November 1977, p. 21, Missionary Messenger, Salunga, Pennsylvania, December 1977, p. 16, Vol. L IV, No. 8.

[12] Matthew 4:16

[13] Kraybill (Editor) Called to be Sent, p. 165.

illiterate, fearful of natural phenomena, poverty stricken, and lacking the knowledge of true God as he is worshipped and glorified through Jesus Christ. There was no way for them to come up, not only in terms of spiritual captivity but also in terms of modern education, medical care, modern economy and modern civilization. The mission came providing elementary education, medical work, and employment. As years passed education was increased, medical work expanded, and wages were raised.[14] The gospel and its agencies - education and medical work, greatly liberated the African's mind. Christian education gave to the Africans the arts of reading, writing, counting, hygiene, a bit of nature study, geography, history and Swahili language. Medical facilities and treatments liberated them from fear, superstition, dependence on the witch doctor and the juju. They got the power from above to "take up serpents, and to cast out devils".[15] As liberated human beings, with their settled minds, they aspired for better houring, better clothes, better food, and more books.[16] Through the mission, we had better trained teachers, medical workers, mechanics, lorry and truck drivers, and carpenters.[17] Quick progress came to Mara Region

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[14]Kraybill (Editor) God Led Us to Tanzania, pp. 8-9.

[15]Mark 16:17-18.

[16]Kraybill (Editor) God Led Us to Tanzania, p. 6.

[17]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 155.

through Missionary activities of Seventh Day Adventists, Roman Catholics and the Mennonites. Ikizu Teacher Training School had been opened in the 1920s. In order to up-grade their educational system, the Seventh Day Aventist introduced a Seminary at Ikizu, the Mennonite ran an Alliance Secondary School in Musoma, and the Catholics operated Mara Secondary School along with Makoko Seminary. The Mennonites operated a Theological College also.

Mission Schools have trained an army of civil servants, manning the Tanzanian Government civil service.[18] Most of those who are holding responsible positions in government and parastatal organizations were educated in Mission Schools and Catholic Seminaries. Many of them are sons and daughters of those who were Mission School Teachers and Church Ministers. Better still, the heroes who stood up to challenge the entrepreneurs in the economic and commercial world, were those who had gone to Mission Schools. The Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions, started by Mr. Paul Bomani, in the Lake Regions, is a case in point. He was a son of a Seventh Day Adventist Minister. Those who stood up to voice their displeasure against colonial exploitation, degradation, oppression and disrespect, were the ones who had been to mission

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[18] William R. Duggan and John R. Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, Orbis Books, Mary Knoll: New York, 1976), p. 121.

schools. President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania is a product of a Catholic school.

These sons of Africa to whom the light of the gospel had come up, faced the business and economic world of the parties that were exploiting the African population, with confidence, faith and unity. The mission educated heroes of Africa faced the colonial government with courage, and confidence in themselves, without power from the barrel of the gun, they secured freedom and independence for their people.

> ...in one short generation the African has been taken from his heathen life as well along on the road to civilization...the influence from missions, governments, United Nations Organization, and business interests has not been to slow up this process but rather to push it forward.[20]

This quick transition was possible because the Africans were open to learning and to change. Therefore, the allegation by some whites that Africans were contented and unwilling to change, was true only locally, at certain times and places. On the whole they were eager to learn. If the African culture were dormant and static then European religion, education, technology, and money economy became a catalyst to accelerate the tempo of change and development.[21]

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[20]Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 155.

[21]Duggan and Civille, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 21.

That is why there was a cry all over Africa, "We want to learn".

That is why the author has emphasized that change within the mission did not come accidentally, nor by the will of the Missionaries. Indeed change and plans for further development and improvement came as a result of strong demands and pressures exerted, not only by the Africans, but also by historical pressures exerted by the social, economic and political circumstances. Changes happened after long tugs of war between African church men and the Mission. Eshleman confirmed this when he wrote, "There is striving for education on the part of those who have gotten a taste of the advantages of schoolwork.[22] The coming of the Mission was to the Africans a vehicle for development and improvement. When the mission hesitated to provide what was required, it stirred unrest and resentment. Again Eshleman confirmed this when he said:

> There is unrest among hospital workers and school teachers who a few years ago were satisfied. Africans are now dissatisfied with wages several times higher than they received a few years back.[23]

"The task of mission is not only to lead souls to Christ, but also to help them grow in their Christian lives".[24] Education,

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[22] Eshleman, Africa Answers, p. 155.

[23] Ibid., p. 155.

[24] Kraybill, Called to be Sent, p. 170.

medical work and employment helped Christian growth a great deal. The lepers, the blinds, the paralyzed ones, and the resurrected and the hungry who were fed, spread the fame of Jesus abroad, after they had been helped. One cannot be brought to Jesus and be left unfed, unnurtured and unattended.

3. LANCASTER CONFERENCE MENNONITE CHURCH WAS AFFECTED BY MISSION WORK INVOLVEMENT

Historically, Mennonites were separatist groups, living in isolated communities of their own. They moved out of the society as found in cities. They established rural communities where they could cultivate the land. They refrained from technology, too much book learning and traffic in commerce. The best life to them was the simple life of man and nature in their rustic communion. They concluded that man as a tiller of the soil was man in his right relation with God. [25] However, when they plunged themselves into mission work, the first thing to do was to break isolation and self confinement. Elam and Orie, who were sent for a mission field in Africa contacted offices, Missions, and individuals in New York, London, Berlin, Khartoum, Dares Salaam, Shinyanga and Mwanza.

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[25]Ruether, The Radical Kingdom, p.27.

These contracts were made, not with Mennonites, but with experiences of different denominations. God used governments, other missionary organizations and African chiefs to get them to the mission spot.[26] They had to contact such organizations in order to learn what procedures were involved in starting a mission. That, at once, brought them in contact with other Christians with whom they hardly mingled before. In Tanganyika, the Protestant Missions suggested where to locate a mission field. They stayed with the African Inland missionaries in Shinyanga and Mwanza areas. Edward Sywulka of the mission accompanied Stauffer to the mission spot at Katuru Hill, in Shirati, and stayed with him for a month. It could have been ungratefulness and unwise on the part of the Mennonite Missionaries to have a closed holy communion to such missionaries. Therefore, as a sign of gratefulness and diplomacy, the Mennonite Mission had to depart from their traditions. Since they were helped by others, and since they wanted to keep contacts warm, they cooperated with other missions. Secondly, revival movements came breaking away barriers of culture, race, and denominations that separated Christians in Europe. The revivalists wanted to lift no race, no educational attainments, no cultural pride; they wanted to lift up

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[26] Kraybill, (Editor), Called to be Sent, pp. 173-174.

Jesus. Missionaries who hesitated to join revival due to race or denominations were told that they tried to bar Jesus salvation for all. The revival emphasized unity and oneness. The missionaries favored revival because it touched the Africans first. This is what they had come for. They were glad that revival came. Later on, they found that they needed revival. It touched them. It was a train that had taken everybody -- men, women, young people, educated, illiterates, black and white.

When they were touched spiritually, they had a new testimony. They became critical of Mennonitism, and mission policies. They emphasized in their reports their right relationship with Jesus, and not necessarily with Mennonitism, nor Mission board polity.[27] They testified that Jesus became more real to them in Africa. However, these reports and testimonies became very disturbing to the home church for they thought that the Mennonite symbols and traditions of policy were threatened by the missionaries. They thought the plain suit, dress capes, the bonnets, the prayer head coverings and the apron, all would go. There were, therefore, confrontations between the home church and the mission field. The American Mennonites thought it was quite appropriate for the African pagans

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[27]Anchak, Dissertation for Degree of Ph.D. pp. 152-153.

to have a revival, because they were sinners. They could not apprehend how missionaries who were born in Mennonite homes and baptized in Mennonite Church congregations could be convicted by the Holy Spirit. Perhaps they were afraid that the missionaries on a mission field wanted to start a Church quite different from the Mennonite Church in Lancaster. Some missionaries were barred from returning to the mission field. Their policy and faith were examined again to see if they had departed from the Mennonite faith of their fathers. To the missionaries, revival went beyond traditions, Mennonitism and its symbols. It was personal conviction concerning the right relationship between the inner being and God. That must transcend symbols and traditions which were given at a specific time and place in history of a people or sub-culture. This is why they did not teach things like wearing plain suits, bonnets, becoming farmers and cape dresses to the African Church. However, they emphasized the Mennonite teachings that are based on the holy scriptures: non-violence, non-conformity, love and peace.

Mennonite tradition and symbols were temporarily handed down to a people at a time and place.

> ...each generation, each sub-culture should identify what for them are crucial areas of concern which must be symbolized and then choose appropriate symbols to communicate that concern. That is an essential part of keeping one's faith relevant.
>
> Mission endeavor is cross-cultural...it is a measure of Christian maturity when we can take with grace and good humor the symbols of others.[28]

Today the Mennonites in Lancaster conference are changing. Fewer and fewer people adhere to the traditional garb of their forefathers. Prayer head coverings are disappearing gradually but surely. The plain suits and the cape dresses are vanishing. Young men are wearing beards and some even appear like "hippies". Learning that was shunned as ungodly, has become a necessity. Today Mennonites are medical doctors, social workers, sociologists, lawyers and theologians as well as agriculturalists. Though they are still suspicious of commerce and industry in public life, they are running businesses of their own. Historically, they were anti-city life, but their young people are scattered throughout cosmopolitan and metropolitan centers of America, studying or working. Mennonite worship centers have been established in these cities. Mennonite people are volunteers found both in cities and

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[28] Missionary Messenger, Vol. IV, No. 10, February 1978, p.11, 23.

in rural areas of this big country. Some are found as volunteers abroad.[29]

Through mission work members of other races and ethnic groups have joined the Mennonite brotherhood: Black, Spanish speaking, Africans and Vietnamese. These groups are not Swiss-Dutch-German-Russian Mennonites, but they are brothers in Christ. They have increased the Mennonite denomination numerically. They have enriched it with varieties, and they have increased the Mennonite concept of the Church and Christendom. The Mennonites in Lancaster Conference have received a hundred times in terms of Christian brotherhood, blessings, and experiences.

> There are now more Mennonites in Africa than there are in Lancaster county. Some of the fastest growing congregations. Whether we like it or not. Mennoniteness now has larger meaning than just a particular European sub-culture.[30]

The Mennonite Church is undergoing crucial changes. It is no longer an ethnic sect, but a denominational Church. It is no longer a farmer's community brotherhood, but it is a Church scattered, not only in the metropolitan cities in the United States, but also in developing areas of the world. It has become an

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[29]A Forum of Exploration, dialogue, and information for Mennonite Students/Young adults, November 1977. p. 10.

[30]Missionary Messenger: Salunga Pennsylvania, Vol. L IV, No. 10, Feburary 1978. p. 10.

institutional Church, with colleges, theological seminaries, and mission boards. These institutions assert leadership, consider theological problems, and give directions. Its old traditions are fading away, and they must go. However, there are three things that will remain until Jesus comes. These are faith, hope and charity.[31]

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[31]Corinthians 13:13 K.J.V.

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